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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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2 April 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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PROGRESS REPORTED IN SLOVAKIA'S INTEGRATION OF GYPSIES

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 4, 25 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by Peter Kasalovsky]

[Text] All that many people know about Gypsies is that they are Gypsies. They usually visualize only those who get into trouble with the law or who, because of their life-style, upset and annoy their fellow countrymen. It is true that many Gypsies still follow their deep-rooted customs...

Current plans to raise Gypsy inhabitants' cultural level further and integrate them socially (expressed also in Government Decrees No 42/1976, No 308/1978 and No 141/1980 of the Slovak Socialist Republic) are being gradually realized. The effort of the national government and the national committees focuses primarily on increasing the quality of care of children and youth, on securing employment and on creating better housing conditions. One can say that results are tangible not only in [individual] communities but even within certain [whole] districts; we can see with our own eyes that a considerable number of Gypsy inhabitants live just like other inhabitants of our republic. This is indicated also by the fact that, for instance, in the Roznava district there are no problems with school attendance of Gypsy children. The number of children pre-enrolled at school (that is, of those who attend a nursery school for at least half a year before entering grade school) is rising constantly. In Slovakia, almost 60 percent of Gypsy children are pre-enrolled at School. On the whole, the results of training and education and preparedness for life show improvement. The fact that thousands of Gypsy children--grade-school pupils--each year attend recreational and educational camps and that more and more of them finish the training offered in pioneer camps of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement] also helps.

As many as 61 percent of young Gypsies enter apprenticeships. A few more Gypsies attend secondary schools and even universities than in the second half of the 1970's. (In these instances, one must still speak of exceptions, though even here their numbers will increase.) This is so primarily because more and more young Gypsy families have a standard of life comparable to that of other inhabitants. Naturally, the conditions and circumstances of children from these families enable them to attain even the

highest education. Of the more than 208,000 Gypsy citizens in Slovakia, about 106,000 are at a productive age; of this number, about three-fourths were employed at the beginning of this decade. (Among women, the increase was from 46.8 percent to 54.4 percent.)

In the years 1976-1982, housing conditions improved for 5234 Gypsy families. A total of 1390 bought an older house, 1037 built a new house, 1901 families obtained a communal apartment, another 568 an apartment in company housing or temporary quarters, and 338 Gypsy families bought a co-op apartment. A total of 168 settlements were liquidated and in the existing ones, where still about 10 percent of the Gypsy population lives, national committees had 146.3 km of roads repaired and provided instalation of public lighting and sources of drinking water.

Data about education outside of school also testify to the Gypsy population's effort to live in a new way. More than 11,000 women took cooking courses, another 4,000 finished sewing courses, 824 men finished courses qualifying them for skilled work, and the number of illiterates dropped by another 3,000 men and women. (There are still 3,395 illiterates.) With effective help of social, interest and economic organizations, many national committees captured Gypsy citizens' interest in culture, physical training and social events, which resulted in a number of various activities and actions in which the active Gypsies are role models for others. Here, too, it is being demonstrated that the national committees play a decisive role in raising the Gypsy citizens' cultural level, and also that the speed of Gypsies' social integration depends on the committees' approach. There are still many further opportunities and provisions in the national committees' approach, especially in their effort to transfer to the Gypsy citizens themselves the responsibility for raising their cultural level and social integration.

Antisocial activity of a part of Gypsy citizenry causes as much worry, and it is precisely this activity that distorts other citizens' views about their Gypsy fellow citizens. It is a fact that Gypsies represent 4 percent of the inhabitants of the Slovak Socialist Republic but that in percentage terms their involvement in certain criminal acts is several times higher. Recently, a number of measures have been taken for more effective prevention of criminal and antisocial activity on the part of Gypsies, and their enactment should also help the situation.

After the year 2000 there will be no Gypsy settlement in Slovakia. Raising of the cultural level and integration of Gypsies will have advanced to the point that we shall find in history textbooks a page or two about a singular humanistic feat that has taken place during our lifetime, before our very eyes.

12435

CSO: 2400/256

KRAJ CONFERENCES EVALUATE WORK OF SOCIALIST PARTY

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 2 Feb 84 pp 1,3

[Article by Cestmir Adam, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party: "After the Kraj Conference"]

[Text] Kraj conferences of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party were held in all Czech regions and in Prague during the second half of January. They made it possible to present reports accounting for the period since October 1981, and to evaluate the development of the party after the eighth All-State Conference. These conferences brought to a close the elections of new party officials at local, municipal and district levels, as well as thorough analyses of prior activities and the development of programs for the further improvement of party work to benefit our society.

The conferences indicated a substantial increase in the participation of the entire party and of its members in efforts to prevent war and secure peace during the analyzed period. Thousands of members contributed financially to secure the World Congregation for Peace and Life against Nuclear War which was held last June in Prague. Facing the deterioration of international relations caused by the war-mongering imperialist circles, our members displayed determination to strengthen our homeland acceleration of our economic growth. For this reason their voluntary activities have expanded, benefiting our society by embellishing communities and towns, by helping in agriculture, and assisting our youngest ones, as well as senior citizens. The work of party members in national committees, when making decisions in urgent questions of daily life and intensifying socialist democracy by implementing the enactment of the amended national committees law, was also improving.

Evidently, citizens appreciated the activity of the party, for during the past period the highest number of new members in the last 10 years was gained to add to the membership base.

Local, okres and kraj party organizations also increased their support of the National Front when implementing the election schedules, and strengthened their cooperation with the CPCZ, as well as with social and special interest organizations of the National Front.

However, there were also weak spots and deficiencies, the overcoming of which was addressed by the presentations of kraj conference delegates and by the acceptance of programs for further activities.

Working for our society still remains the central line of the party activities. Participation in the work of national committees and in the National Front member organizations deserves further intensification, and so does the recruitment of non-party members for the building of an advanced socialist society. The bases of these activities are the local organizations to which the higher party authorities must give more help in gaining capable for their membership meetings. These meetings have to introduce convincing and comprehensible political-educational consciousness-raising in the membership, with respect to the questions of local, domestic and international developments. The success of local organization must be the primary target of the work of okres organizations.

Also at the okres and kraj levels there is a place for improvement, namely in the intensification of unification in the development of okreses and krajs, the achievement of greater interdependence and more frequent working relations between the presidiums of kraj and okres party committees.

Great care must be given to every newly accepted member. To start with, his acceptance must be of the highest responsibility. Basic party indoctrination has to be ensured for each new member shortly after his acceptance, together with his introduction to work for the community, in accordance with his abilities and potential. It is necessary to have regular talks with new members, to explain to them the policy of the party and that of the National Front. After 1 year of membership it is necessary to discuss with the member his further activities in the party.

The fulfillment of these objectives is the best insurance for our party to play a positive role in the National Front and in the entire society when building our homeland, securing a good standard of living and strengthening the peace.

9910  
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SLOVAK YOUTH UNION CALLS FOR BETTER QUALITY OFFICIALS

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 2 Feb 84 p 4

[Excerpt from a report of the presidium of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union delivered at the Seventh Plenum of the committee by Dusan Longauer, deputy chairman of the committee]

[Text] Since its inception, the Socialist Youth Union has been paying systematic attention to the training of its officials. The union's organizations are involved with the future generation, and this fact underscores the demand for improved cadre work among our young people.

During the entire period of our activity we have been able to count on the assistance of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and looked for various forms of training for the union's officials. We have taken into consideration past experience and the experience stemming from the training of youth officials in the Leninist Komsomol and fraternal organizations in other socialist countries.

Under the conditions of work of a youth organization it is quite natural for us to encounter a large number of young, often inexperienced, officials. Even if the process of their replacement is natural, under no circumstance can it remain uncontrolled. For this reason our interest in selecting and training the union's officials is the most important issue in the activity of our organization. The constant effort of all union organs is to have in leading positions people with authority, initiative, and training who are willing to give to their work all they can and all they know.

One Has To Live for the Union--Not Live From the Union

Every official of the youth union is a political worker, instructor, and organizer. To have such officials we must carefully train them and see to it that they continue their education and strengthen their determination through practical activity. We think it is important for our officials to understand fully the relationship between all-societal and personal interests, critically and self-critically to approach the elimination of mistakes, to apply the principle of collectivism in concrete organizational and leadership work, and to eliminate outdated work methods.

We can now see increased demands put on our union's officials. This is true not only with regard to the need to improve their work but also with respect to the fact that they represent our young generation. The officials' political maturity and consciousness are not only based on the study of Marxism-Leninism but must also be characterized by their ability to transfer knowledge to other minds and put it into practical application. V. I. Lenin had already pointed to this relationship at the Third Komsomol Congress when he stated: "...a knowledge of communism based exclusively on pamphlets and books comes to nothing if it is not tested in practice and in struggle..." Thus we would like to see officials who will be able to apply theory in practice and who through their behavior, presentation, and persuasion will win others over in the active construction of a developed socialist society. Here, it is doubly valid that only those who are really conscious can persuade and win others over.

An official works with other people and does not get his authority from his official title or education alone, but mainly from his creative work, persistent effort, and modest and friendly behavior. It is important that young people come to him, trust him, seek his advice, and feel that they can count on him. All this contributes to good human relations in the collectives. An official must live for the youth union and not live from the union.

A prospective youth official receives his first training as an official in our children's and youth organization. Here his personal quality is crystalized and his ability to manage and organize a collective is developed. For this reason we must train the entire aktiv of officials with great care, sensitivity, and a high quality program.

The officials' performance of their function, their everyday activity in various organs and organizations of the Socialist Youth Union stemming from their knowledge and experience gained in schools, workplaces, public functions, and from a party and political education in the union and in the specialized forms of the uniform system of preparation and training of the Socialist Youth Union's officials, is the basis for training the voluntary officials of the Socialist Youth Union.

In order to train the voluntary aktiv of officials, the union's okres committees use mostly only short-term courses in okres schools for officials as well as seminars and meetings which are held primarily prior to and immediately after the annual membership meetings. The okres committees approach these forms of training in a differentiated way, depending on social groups of types of the union's basic organizations. They concentrate on offering the officials the "abc's" of his work, on the most pressing tasks, and partially also on theoretical training. In this respect good results are demonstrated by the union's okres committees in Komarno, Banska Bystrica, Bratislava-suburb, Povazska Bystrica, Poprad, Spisska Nova Ves and the Bratislava district committee. Within the framework of short-term schools, attention is concentrated primarily on the chairmen of basic organizations, officials in charge of IVP and economists. The fact that these schools and meetings for other members of the committees

are held irregularly is a shortcoming. A poor curriculum in these schools is a persistent problem. This curriculum often fails to meet existing needs and demands and is in most cases determined exclusively by the ability of the worker of the union's okres committee who is in charge of training at the school by insufficient material-technical facilities, and uninterested sometimes unprepared, lecturers.

#### Interest of the Instructor--a Welcome Help

As we analyze the current situation and determine the plans for training the voluntary aktiv of officials, special attention must be paid to officials at secondary schools and training centers.

Young people arrive at secondary schools and training centers with insufficient experience in management, organizing, and political activity. The Pioneer Organization is unable sufficiently to train its members for leadership work in the committees of school-wide organizations, university-wide organizations, or the union's basic organizations. Sometimes a 14-year old youngster is put in charge of collective of 500 to 600 members (and even a larger collective), when he himself must struggle with the basic problems of how to put together the minutes of a meeting, keep a record of documents, or secure the political upbringing of the union. And these represent only a part of his duties. When the teachers enter the activity of the youth union without a good plan, work in the union amounts to nothing more than an extended regular school day. When the instructors do not care about this work, the youth organization becomes helpless, its activities are directed toward emergency needs only and are not consistent. We appreciate the work of those teachers who spend their entire pedagogical talent and ability in preparing and training the aktiv of officials. We have in mind primarily the deputy directors for out-of-school training as well as teachers assigned to supervise the Socialist Youth Union. Together with the school administration, we must create all the necessary prerequisites for increasing their number because out-of-school training is a joint task of both the school and the Socialist Youth Union. For this reason we expect that all okres committees of the union will improve their work with young instructors and their basic organizations at secondary schools and training centers.

Regular and relatively quick replacement of members of the voluntary aktiv is especially noticeable in the secondary schools and training centers. Any neglect or shortcoming in the preparation of these officials in a given year results in long-lasting consequences. For this reason, all kraj and okres committees of the union must pay increased attention to their work with voluntary officials in secondary schools and training centers.

Increased attention must also be paid to the selection and training of the union's officials at schools of higher learning. In Slovakia, 54,456 university students are organized in 1,598 basic organizations at 53 different faculties. The fact that the officials' term of office at the universities is limited by the length of study puts increased demands on

the method of training officials and reserve cadres. Because of these circumstances, we worked out a system of training for the voluntary officials which has been implemented by the union's Slovak Central Committee for the past few years. The union's Slovak Central Committee organizes regular courses for members of all-school and faculty committees of the union. These courses deal with different types of activity expected of members. In most cases, the level of these courses is high with respect to both their organization and curriculum, as demonstrated by high attendance. The problem we are facing is how to free the officials from attending their regular university classes and laboratories, especially in those cases where one cannot graduate without fulfilling the laboratory requirements. Together with the school administration, we must continue to look for a solution to this problem. In the training of voluntary officials at the universities and faculties, in addition to seminars and meetings an important role is played by the evening school for officials. This form of training, especially because of its systematic nature and the use of seminars, lectures, self-study and practical work, makes it possible for the participants to acquire much knowledge and information.

When evaluating the results of the work in training our officials we must also say a few words about the training of cadres in our Pioneer Organization.

The training of our Pioneer officials is being secured in a systematic and regular way by the Pioneer groups. Most of the Pioneer groups carry out this training at a good theoretical and practical level under active supervision by the head of the Pioneer group in cooperation with teachers of individual subjects. However, we also have Pioneer groups where the training of Pioneer officials is lagging, is not well thought out, and is not implemented in a systematic way. These problems appear primarily in those Pioneer groups which are led by inexperienced heads of the Pioneer group who lack the necessary experience and have limited contact with the rest of the officials' aktiv. In this connection it is necessary to concentrate our attention at the ODPM Okres Houses of the Pioneers and Youth especially on the systematic training of the new heads of the Pioneer groups in order to acquaint them with the work of the entire aktiv of officials. We must see to it that in addition to the training of the entire aktiv of the Pioneer officials the adequate training of heads of the pioneer groups is also provided.

ODPM's carry out the training of members of the groups' councils and okres Pioneer staffs. This training corresponds to the needs of the Pioneer movement in those cases where heads of the Pioneer groups with many years of experience and ODPM staff workers are put in charge of such training. The courses for members of the Pioneer aktiv organized during the summer months, especially in camps, are attractive. This is demonstrated by the results of 1983, when we organized 1,444 camp schools with an attendance of 17,190 Pioneers.

We are paying increased attention to the training of Pioneer workers. In accordance with the document entitled "Principles for Selecting and Training Pioneer Workers," we use the schools for the Pioneer workers established at the ODPM's which are directly under the jurisdiction of the Pioneer Organization. Another method is the training provided in state schools, especially schools of teacher preparation and teachers' colleges. We make good use of other forms of youth union and party training. In each kraj and okres there is a school for the Pioneer workers. However, the level of their activity differs in accordance with the cadre distribution of school workers.

Another important category of the Pioneer workers are section heads and instructors, who acquire the basic Pioneer qualification, namely, the title of Pioneer head, by passing an instructors' exam in the Pioneer groups. It is necessary that the leadership of the Pioneer group pay increased attention to the training of section heads and instructors. It is also necessary to have established at the level of each Pioneer group a board of lecturers whose task will be to train higher-caliber cadres of Pioneer workers, as called for in the document entitled "Principles for Selecting and Training Pioneer Workers." Here even greater assistance by the ODPM's is imperative.

An especially important role in training and preparing voluntary officials is being played by the Houses of Political Education established at the okres committees of the party. Here, the cabinets of the children's and youth movement train the cadres for their work in the Socialist Youth Union. We have in mind primarily the training of chairmen of the union's basic organizations and of propagandists and lecturers of political education. Each year, individual okreses organize one to two classes attended by students from various types of basic union organizations. This form of training is being used best in Ziar nad Hronom, Poprad, Presov, Spisska Nova Ves, Senica and a few other okreses.

The training of youth officials gets an important boost from general and special courses dealing with individual fields of the union's activity organized by the union's Slovak Central Committee. The union's Slovak Central Committee each year organizes meetings, aktivs, seminars, and theoretical-practical conferences which concentrate on the fulfillment of the most important tasks.

In training physical education and paramilitary cadres, we must improve cooperation with the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association and Association for Cooperation with the Army. A good example in this respect is shown by Topolcany, Trencin, Dunajska Streda, Povazska Bystrica, Martin, Liptovsky Mikulas and other okreses. We are gradually improving the situation in utilizing trained organizers and coaches who are active in the union's basic organizations in organizing basic contests, and who head specialized sports, tourist, and paramilitary circles, etc.

The training of the officials engaged in cultural-educational activity is taking place at all levels in close cooperation with the organs of the union and various cultural-adult education institutions. The Union's Slovak Central Committee, in cooperation with the Slovak Ministry of Culture and the Adult Education Institute in Bratislava, prepared a document entitled "The System of Education and Training of Heads of Clubs and Heads of Interest-Group Collectives." This system encompasses almost all areas of cultural-educational activity. The union's Slovak Central Committee, in cooperation with professional cultural institutions, artistic unions, and artistic funds, organize every year schools and seminars for chairmen and members of the commissions for education and culture of individual kraj and okres committees of the union. Our experience shows that good results are achieved by organizing technical seminars for playwrights, lyricists, scriptwriters, musicians, and interpreters of individual genres prior to or during individual contests, shows, and festivals.

The Slovak Central Political School of the Socialist Youth Union significantly contributes to training the voluntary officials within the framework of the uniform system of training and preparation of the union's officials. We can see this best in the cases of various types of courses specifically oriented toward further improving the political and technical preparedness of leading officials and staff workers of the Socialist Youth Union. The present forms of education correspond to the existing needs of the union. At the same time, we are improving the curriculum and quality of the training-educational process. During 1977 alone, 2,432 voluntary officials of our union from all sectors of work and fields of activity had a chance to retrain themselves through this process. However, we cannot be satisfied with the fact that individual kraj and okres committees of the union fail to utilize fully their chance to train their officials at the Slovak Central Political School of the Socialist Youth Union. This is demonstrated not only in the quality of selection of students but also in their participation in individual courses when we see that the school's capacity is not always fully used. The educational-training function of the union's Slovak Central Political School must pay more attention to the union's kraj and okres committees in the future.

The strengthening of methodical and publishing activity must become one of the most important tasks of the union's Slovak Central Political School.

#### The Need To Improve Work With Reserve Cadres

In spite of certain good results we cannot be satisfied with the formation and realization of the cadre programs at individual levels of management. This dissatisfaction is often seen in the failure to prepare the cadres to carry out their duties. At this time, we see a need to concentrate our attention on systematic and planned work with reserve cadres.

While we have achieved some good results, we must totally change our approach toward this question. A serious problem in selecting the reserve cadres is the fact that we are often looking for them outside of the union's apparatus

or outside the aktiv of officials. The plans for reserve cadres are in some case unrealistic, either because of age or qualification requirements. When we work with young, beginning officials in the union's apparatus we must be systematic, we must regularly evaluate their work and help in their further technical, general, and political education. For this reason we must assign them concrete tasks, include them in creative collectives where documents are drafted, send them to participate in various contests, etc.

Existing practice and experience show that our Socialist Youth Union and the Pioneer Organization have good prerequisites for the successful training of cadres and of a broad aktiv of officials. It is for this reason that we are not satisfied with the results achieved. The results show us the need to concentrate further our attention on the proper training and planned education of the officials' aktiv and its reserve cadres, as well as the entire membership. We expect that the resolutions of the Sixth Plenum of the union's Central Committee will be fully implemented at all levels of the organizational structure of the union in Slovakia. The adopted uniform system for training and educating the union's officials is viewed as a basic means for our future work with voluntary officials and workers of the union's apparatus.

From okres and kraj committees of the union we expect increased initiative in training the officials' aktiv in educational institutions run by the party in individual krajs and okreses. It will be necessary for the okres and kraj committees of the union to realize the plans for cadre training and educating the union's officials. We also must see to it that the plans for courses and schools and their content and results are regularly evaluated. We must be ready, too, to include into these plans new effective measures.

When selecting students for individual forms of education we must consistently observe the principles of the union's cadre work.

Training of the officials for our children's and youth organization is one of the basic prerequisites for improving the effectiveness of the work and action capability of the union. Good preparation is the basis for later concrete results, for an easier finding of answers to all complicated questions, and for understanding the prospects of development of our union and the entire society.

The securing of the responsible selection and well-thought-out and good quality education of all officials of the Socialist Youth Union and the Pioneer Organization must be our permanent task. In this way, we will contribute to improving the union's authority, to achieving greater successes in all fields of our activity for the benefit of building a developed socialist society.

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CSO: 2400/239



## CALL FOR INCREASE OF QUALITY IN APPRENTICE TRAINING

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Feb 84 p 4

[Article by Pavel Novak]

[Text] Apprentice training is being offered at a new type of secondary school --at secondary technical training centers. Young people receive, in addition to a wider scope of theoretical instruction, a larger amount of technical training. Thus, we are creating the conditions for successful employment in a given sector with the possibility of continuous adult education and training.

An overwhelming portion of pupils graduating from the eighth grade will continue to study at secondary technical training centers, take part in 2-year apprentice training programs, or 3-year apprentice training programs for the more demanding workers' jobs in order to fulfill their requirement of 10 years of compulsory education. Some of them will opt for a 5-year curriculum culminating in a matriculation examination for the most demanding occupations. This program will require broader theoretical knowledge as well as the necessary technical ability.

The curriculum for the secondary technical training centers was prepared by the commissions of experts representing the individual ministries. In spite of all that it is the ministries which question from time to time the quality of graduates. The message is obvious: If certain experts fail to deliver a good product in the form of the curriculum, it is necessary to make quick changes in such a curriculum.

The secondary technical training centers are established by the general directorates of the economic production units (or by the organs fulfilling a similar function) and by the kraj national committees for those organizations under their management or administration. Here, however, we often encounter a problem. As we have found in numerous cases, the attitude of the general directorates is still unacceptable because they treat these technical centers badly. Instead of creating conditions for the direct supervision of such a technical center, they prefer to establish it at one of their subordinate enterprises. If the enterprises (especially its manager) is unwilling to pay sufficient attention to the center, then the center's director cannot do much. However, it is not entirely the fault of the manager of the enterprise when he asks the following question: Is the task of "our" training centers



really to train qualified cadres for the future or is it only necessary window dressing assigned to us by our superior organ?

If, for example, the secondary food processing center in Nove Mesto nad Vahom, training apprentices for the canning industry in the whole of Slovakia, lacks classrooms, dormitories and workshops, the responsibility falls on the general directorate of the Distilleries and Canning Industry in Bratislava.

In particular, the party organizations ought to pay greater attention to our apprentices. We must put an end (and it will not be easy) to the existing attitude of the centers' directors, plant personnel, and part of the general public who do not give full credit to our enterprises, their knowledge and skills. One of the ways out of this situation is to increase the requirements in terms of the quality and effectiveness of instruction at the centers, to insure sound training of future teachers as well as of foremen and instructors. They will have the responsibility of training of the next generation of workers.

Slovakia also provides positive examples as far as the training of apprentices is concerned -- e.g., the secondary engineering technical training center in Nove Mesto nad Vahom, which opened new training facilities in September 1979. Also, another secondary engineering technical center located in Dubnice nad Vahom shows good results. Those who run the center are aware that it is necessary informally to persuade the young people to have a good attitude toward their craft and to take pride in good quality work. When the manager of the Slovena Plant in Cadca, Oliver Kotrbanc, accompanied us during a visit to his plant, he emphasized several times that the modern equipment can be operated only by the center's graduates.

When we visited the construction training center in Zilina-Borek, we saw very interesting activities of the Socialist Youth Union and the training of apprentices for practical work. The center has 18 collectives of reserves for the Brigades of Socialist Labor. Some 30,000 hours of work performed by various brigades is not negligible. Most of the apprentices we talked to at the training center in Martin-Vrutky opted for railroad work. Some of them developed a propensity for this line of work during their membership in clubs attached to the Pioneer and Youth Houses. The training center, which has a long tradition, trains young workers who will repair railroad cars and everything related to railroad transportation. As soon as the construction workers complete their projects, the training center will have modern training work halls which will improve the effectiveness of the instruction given there.

Another illustration from the Slovak Union of Consumer Cooperatives indicates how it is possible to achieve great results. Within a span of 6 months (!), the union has built and equipped a structure to house the secondary trade industry training center in Revuca. The workers of the union were able to achieve this by determining at the start of construction the personal responsibility of every official for fulfilling the assigned task. And some of them helped directly in the process. Also, the Federal Ministry of Fuel and Power and the Czech Union of Consumer Cooperatives pay increased attention to the creation of the necessary prerequisites for the secondary technical training centers. However, the Czech and Slovak Ministries of Trade and certain kraj national committees are lagging behind.

Our investigation shows that in places where those charged with establishing a training center are interested in their assignment, the centers have a sufficient number of classrooms and work halls which are well equipped and staffed with competent instructional cadres. Teachers are given a chance to take additional courses to improve themselves. Foremen, too, are offered the possibility of extending their skills by attending special schools. However, figures show large variations indicating that we are far from being satisfied. These variations can be seen primarily in the case of instructors or, better stated, female instructors. The fact that a large number of instructors are females, that they have to accept evening assignments and work during weekends without receiving appropriate remuneration, are the main reasons for this undesirable situation.

The fact that these instructors often quit and must be replaced, that they are not properly qualified for their jobs, that they are not very interested in working with young people, together with the fact that the ministries have no real concept as far as the training of apprentices is concerned, results in a situation in which our young people opt for more pleasurable alternatives than uninteresting apprenticeships at these centers. As a result, they often cause great worries to their parents, instructors, and sometimes also to the organs of public security.

All of this suggests that our responsible organs face a lot of work ahead to eliminate shortcomings in the training of apprentices.

1277

CSO: 2400/232

## PHILOSOPHER SCHAFF DESCRIBED AS DOGMATIST-REVISIONIST

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 9, 29 Feb 84 p 8

[Article by LH under the rubric "Who Is It?": "Adam Schaff"]

[Text] There is no need to introduce the Polish philosopher Adam Schaff to our public, particularly the educated public. Certain of his works, which were translated into Czech, were of assistance in gaining a dogmatic understanding of Marxist philosophy, but from the 1960's onward, such pamphlets of his as "Marxism and the Human Individual" (published [In Slovak translation] in Bratislava, 1966) helped to spread revisionism. He was born on 10 March 1913 in Lvov, where he studied law and economics. He studied philosophy in Paris, Poland, and the USSR, where he received a doctorate in philosophical sciences in 1945. Starting in 1945 he worked actively in a variety of capacities in the area of social sciences, primarily philosophy, serving as director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology and being elected to the Polish Academy of Sciences. He became a member of the Communist Party of Poland in 1932, a member of the PZPR upon its formation, and a member of its Central Committee in 1969.

In his "Philosophy of Mankind" (published [In Slovak translation] by VPL in Bratislava in 1962) he defended Marxism against existentialism, but at the same time recommended that Marxism-Leninism be supplemented by a philosophy of mankind, whose central concept was the problem of alienation. In a discussion on "Marxism and Human Individual" organized by the Department of Education and Training of the PZPR Central Committee and the editors of the journal NOWE DROGI (October 1965), most of the participants agreed that Schaff was extending the concept of alienation, as compared to Marx's concept, in such a way that it lost its methodological usefulness for interpreting social phenomena. For Schaff the history of humankind is not a history of class struggles but rather a history of alienation of the human individual, alienation which can never be eliminated and which will disappear only when human society dies out. According to his conception, mankind is doomed to eternal alienation, which he claims that socialism further exacerbates. Schaff provides his concept of alienation with a concrete historical content and, along with other revisionists in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, reduces it to an abstract general phenomenon, and by so doing once and for all dooms the revolutionary workers' movement to passivity, hopelessness, and futility.

Fourteen years after his "absolute and voluntary exile and silence" he has again entered political life, this time by the publication of his pamphlet "Die Kommunistische Bewegung am Scheidenweg" [The Communist Movement at the Cross-roads] (Vienna, 1982). This is a mix of dogmatism and revisionism, in which he once again takes up his ideas on alienation, subjecting to criticism--ostensibly from a Marxist viewpoint--the construction of actual socialism, especially in Poland. He replies negatively to the question, which he himself poses, of whether it is possible to "return democracy" to the real socialist countries. He claims that only with the victory of socialism in the highly industrialized countries--at a moderate pace, in approximately 25 years--will it be possible, under the influence of a new model of institutional organization, to modify the "antidemocratic structure in the old socialist states."

In the criticisms published last year in a number of Polish journals it was proved conclusively that Schaff's intention of "stating the bare truth and nothing but the truth" unfortunately--as is the case with dogmatists who have been transformed into revisionists--has little to do with actual Marxism-Leninism. It is no accident that his views have attracted not only the "Eurocommunists" but also the bourgeoisie ideologists.

9832

CSO: 2400/261

## INDRA SPEAKS AT 36TH ANNIVERSARY OF FEBRUARY 1948 VICTORY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Feb 84 pp 1, 3

[Text of speech by Alois Indra, a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, on 23 February 1984 in the Cultural Palace in Prague, at the celebrations commemorating the 36th anniversary of the February 1948 victory]

[Text] Esteemed Friends, Dear Comrades!

Victorious February was an event that deserves to be commemorated each year. After all, the struggle for the republic's character reached its peak during those six tempestuous days. The attempted coup to create a cabinet crisis was the last nail in the reaction's coffin. The reaction fell into its own trap. Political power was taken over completely by the working class and the working people. The CPCZ harvested the fruit of its long struggle. The working class and the widest popular strata supported the political force they had recognized as their spokesman, the most determined fighter against the haute bourgeoisie, and unwavering defender of the republic against fascism. They had known the Communists as the most active participants in the struggle for national liberation and appreciated their exemplary selfless work during postwar reconstruction. The prestige that the CPCZ enjoyed and its close link with the people were the basic preconditions for the February victory. And the party amply repaid this confidence. It stood its ground because it had mastered the theory of socialist revolution and effectively applied to practice the teachings of Marx and Lenin. By its activity in the years after the liberation, it demonstrated the soundness of the key conclusions of its 5th congress, the 55th anniversary of which was just recently. From 1929 on, socialist revolution as the means of overthrowing bourgeois dictatorship became the goal that gave the workers a clear perspective. By observing revolutionary theory, the party was able to correctly identify the external and domestic conditions, and to appraise the enemy's possibilities and its own strength. After the liberation, the party was abreast of the times. Politically and ideologically united and highly capable of action, it performed with full responsibility its duties as the organized political vanguard of the working class and of the people. Already at its 9th congress in 1949, the party was able to outline its comprehensive program for building socialism.

## Contribution to Revolutionary Theory and Practice

The postwar development and the February events under our conditions became further proof that the principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine regarding socialist revolution are generally valid. At the same time, in accordance with Lenin's ideas, we reject all fabricated allegations about the mechanical transplantation of some sort of ready-made "models," about "failure to take the specific Czechoslovak conditions into account." The socialist revolution was exclusively our internal affair, and its protagonists were the working class and the Czechoslovak people, led by the Communist Party. It conformed to our domestic conditions, to the workers' aspirations and their basic interests. It was a bloodless revolution because its enemies had lost their chance to stage counterrevolutionary armed resistance. But this does not mean that victory was achieved without hard struggle, including the clearly expressed determination of the working class to defend social progress even by force if necessary. We have never forced our experience on anyone, but we may say in all modesty that the Czechoslovak revolution has been a contribution to the international working-class and communist movements, and that it has enriched the doctrines of revolutionary theory and practice. We contributed toward strengthening the forming community of socialist countries, toward ensuring the outcome of World War II, and toward creating the conditions for preserving peace in Europe and the world.

We are fully aware, of course, that our victorious encounter with the reaction was influenced also by the international situation, especially by the altered balance of power after World War II. The guaranty of our people's free political decision was our treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union. After all, imperialism was not a nonparticipating observer of the developments in Czechoslovakia and had its class designs with our country. Its most aggressive circles, however, were forced to abandon their plans of open intervention: Czechoslovak "grapes became too sour" for them, because our alliance with the Soviet Union guaranteed the inviolability of our borders.

Every anniversary of February is for us an occasion to appreciate the statesmanlike wisdom of the Czechoslovak people. We recall with deep gratitude the sacrifices and determination of the generations that were the architects of the historical victory; the advocates of communist ideas during the difficult times under the first republic and in the struggle for national liberation; and the hundreds and thousands of active Communists, independents, and members of other parties who supported the policy of the CPCZ. We will always remember with admiration the decisive stand of the People's Militias and of the members of the young National Security Corps. We will never forget the name of Klement Gottwald, the loyal patriot, conscious internationalist and master of revolutionary strategy and tactics. His modest but realistic assessment of the situation, and his revolutionary thoroughness justified his statement that encouraged the people and warned the reaction: "Gottwald is not Tusar!" And this statement proved entirely correct.

Victorious February will be inscribed forever in the memory of our people, in the memory of our friends and opponents, as a historical milestone in Czechoslovakia's development.

## Socialism a Living Reality

A year ago, on the 35th anniversary of February, Comrade Husak described in detail the path we have traveled in building a new society. This path has not been one without its obstacles and wash-outs. The working class and its allies were just learning how to govern, amidst constant incursions by their enemies. And we did not avoid mistakes and shortcomings. But if we look around in our country, our people can proudly claim that what we have done is commendable. Within a historically brief period of time we mastered such grandiose tasks as socialist industrialization, the changeover to collective large-scale farming, the cultural revolution, and a Leninist solution of the nationality question. The Czechoslovak citizens' living standard is high in every respect, and just distribution of the created values has reinforced their sense of security provided by society. Few other countries can match us in terms of social and health care, and of the scope and content of public consumption. Briefly stated: the achieved results reinforce our conviction that 36 years ago we chose the right road, that socialism is and will be a living reality in Czechoslovakia today and in the future. The generations that can be credited with achieving this, who dedicated their minds, hearts and hands to this cause, have lived worthwhile lives and deserve the gratitude of our contemporaries and descendants.

We have learned not only from theory but also from our own experience that the observation and creative development of the teachings of Marx and Lenin are the foundation of all our successes. Unfortunately, at our own expense we have learned also the exact opposite: we had to repair the damages caused by the betrayal of the revolutionary doctrines, although it was cloaked in the seemingly attractive robe of "perfecting socialism," in efforts to achieve "socialism with a human face" and in other revisionistic trinkets. Never before did the right wing reveal its true intentions so openly as when it attacked February, when it presented the events that opened the road to socialism as "the root cause of all evil." As Comrade Husak said, "We have always regarded and will regard the attitude toward February as a criterion of the attitude toward the power of the people, toward our country's road to socialism, and toward friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and all revolutionary and progressive forces."

## The People Shape Their Own History

In April we will be commemorating the 15th anniversary of the Central Committee session at which Comrade Gustav Husak was elected to lead our party. Thereby the Central Committee established a solid political bridgehead from which we were able, with the help of honest Communists and independents, to march to complete victory over the right wing, to restoration of socialism's basic values and construction of an advanced socialist society. Naturally, we subscribe to the Marxist view that the people shape their own history, but we are familiar also with the Marxist assessment of the individual's role in history. It has been confirmed also in our country that, during decisive struggles, the working class and the people single out from their own midst individuals who best express and promote the people's interests, and who are unwavering revolutionaries and dedicated patriots and internationalists.

We do not perceive history merely as a record of events, but as a textbook and a guide for action. Naturally, this has nothing in common with attempts to senselessly imitate or transplant into the present the procedures employed at one time. In the words of the poet Jan Neruda, we repeat to ourselves that "the new time wants new actions." Life is not standing still, the domestic and international conditions are changing, the new tasks cannot be solved in the old manner, and routine and ossification are not of any use here. Marking time is essentially foreign to the Communist Party and socialist society; it would harm our revolutionary interests and slow down our progress. Thus when our party and its Central Committee acknowledge February, their purpose is to creatively develop its legacy. Creativity, of course, must not be confused with revisionism, and flexibility is not opportunism. Let no one doubt that we are guarding the Leninist principles of socialist revolution like the apple of our eye, that our principles are not negotiable, that we will not sacrifice them for temporary cheap successes, and that for us these principles are an inviolable law. The past 15 years since the April session of the Central Committee have confirmed that this standpoint is the right one and useful to socialism.

#### Communists Always in the Lead

Comrade Gottwald emphasized that "without the party, there would have been no February; without the party, there would have been no socialism." The congresses and the party's Central Committee are abiding by this historically proven truth and are devoting systematic attention to the party's ideological, political and organizational unity, and its ability to take action. The efficiency of the party organs and organizations, and their ability to pursue our policy under the specific conditions and properly respond to the needs of practice determine the effectiveness of party policy and are the basic precondition for our successes in all spheres of life. We can thank primarily the party for the political victory over the bloc of right-wing and antisocialist forces, for everything we have been able to achieve since then, and for the successful continuation of building socialism. It has again been confirmed that socialist society is like the party, and the party is like its leadership.

The Communists in our country constitute a huge army numbering nearly 1.7 million. The present tasks demand that they act, always and under all circumstances, as members of the organized political vanguard of the working people. As pointed out at the 16th party congress, membership gives them only one privilege: to fight selflessly for the realization of party policy, to solve boldly and anew the economic and other tasks, and to serve as an example for their fellow citizens in work, conscious discipline and in observing the laws and moral norms. Party members and candidates for membership have every right to have a healthy self-awareness and to be proud of the achieved results, but not conceited. We expect Communists to make themselves heard wherever the interests of socialism and peace are at stake, and their distinguishing feature must be a creative approach to work. Only in this way will they preserve their authority and be the recognized political leaders of the people.

Our experiences in February, during the period of building socialism and in the years after overcoming the political crisis prompt us to constantly strengthen the party's ties with the people. Government of the people is characterized by



the participation of the widest strata in the management of public affairs and production. The field of democratic activity are the organs of the National Front, the public organizations, the political parties, and the elective bodies at every level. Especially the national committees should fully revert everywhere to their original political mission, in the spirit of the CPCZ Central Committee's 6th session. They should fulfill far more conspicuously their tasks as organs of people's power, overcome the obstacles of bureaucracy, maintain close contact with the citizens, and broaden especially their influence in political education. Indeed, we will not learn how to assert human rights from those who tolerate man's exploitation by man, who base their power on force, who massacre demonstrators for racial or political reasons, and who brutally suppress the fighters for peace. Socialist democracy not only proclaims civil rights but also creates all the conditions necessary for their assertion. However, our society demands no less consistently also fulfillment of one's duties, civic and labor discipline, and respect for the norms of social coexistence. Briefly and clearly stated, the laws in this country must apply to everyone. The revolution is right when it abides by the Leninist principle that democracy is everything that benefits the people and their basic interests. And from this we logically conclude that it is not only our right but also our duty to defend by every possible means the socialist revolution and its achievements.

#### Don't Limp, Quicken Your Pace

The Communist Party's close ties with the people, and its conscious political activity and work are the key to solving all our current and future tasks. This applies first of all to the efforts of the entire people to achieve the objectives that the 16th CPCZ Congress set in its program of economic and social development. The recently published reports on last year's results prove that we have again come closer to the realization of these objectives. The workers of every branch deserve thanks for accelerating development (on the whole) in terms of many important indicators. Realization is constantly growing and spreading that the highly demanding tasks are a vital necessity. It is being proven that it is possible to produce more and better, without demanding from some inexhaustible cornucopia more and more raw materials, supplies, energy, investments and manpower. We find that our national economy is adjusting to the changed conditions, and that the stricter requirements are not in conflict with reality but are in harmony with our capabilities. Self-complacency, however, would be ill-advised. The needs of our society and the life of the workers demand that we maintain and develop everything positive, that we do not limp along but quicken our pace. This is the message of the Central Committee's last two sessions, and we will be preparing in this spirit also for its next session that will be devoted to engineering.

There still remains much to be done to improve the efficiency of our economy so as to use more effectively all the resources at our disposal. We must further perfect planning and management at every level; stimulate socialist entrepreneurship; channel the initiative of collectives and individuals to the decisive tasks; strengthen planning, labor and technological discipline; promote more boldly and widely the practical application of R & D results; and help to assert the socialist principles of wage policy. The order of the day is to fulfill all the tasks of this year's plan, especially the qualitative ones, and

to create thereby realistic conditions for the fulfillment of the entire 7th Five-Year Plan. There is no magic by which we can alter the principle that the republic's economic potential and the life of the workers directly depend on the work results of each and every one of us. We are confident that the workers of all branches will greet the approaching 40th anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's struggle for national liberation, and of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, with an upsurge of labor competitions. Also in this manner we will prove that we are worthy of the legacy of those who sacrificed their lives for our national freedom and independence.

#### Forever With the Soviet Union

The February storm cleared the air also in the foreign policy of our country. It tolled the end of the reaction's speculation that it might be possible to weaken the alliance with the Soviet Union, and to introduce surreptitiously the concept of Czechoslovakia as some sort of bridge between East and West. The scars of betrayal by the Western allies, of Munich and of Nazi occupation were still too fresh, and the people rejected the policy of "two stools." We linked up with the Soviet Union that proved its friendship with our people in the most difficult trials. Alliance with the country whose soldiers regained for us our freedom has become the cornerstone of our domestic and foreign policy. And whom should we have relied on, if not the first and greatest socialist state? And from whom should we have learned, if not from the most experienced revolutionary workers' party, Lenin's CPSU? Thanks to the unselfishness of our Soviet comrades, we have gained invaluable experience; we are indebted to them for their assistance in the economy's postwar reconstruction and during the first years of building socialism; their willingness played a decisive role in building our people's army; and collaboration with Soviet diplomacy enhanced Czechoslovakia's international prestige. Fraternal Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation gradually broadened and its content became more and more comprehensive, turning into the pillar of our country's development. The new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, signed in Prague in 1970, reflects the higher quality of our mutual relations.

The Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance is a guaranty of our independent statehood and national liberty, and of the inviolability of our national borders. Thanks primarily to this alliance, we have been living and working in peace already 39 years. Therefore we are demonstrating not only with words, but also with our everyday deeds and work, that our relationship with the Soviet Union has always been and will remain a relationship with socialism, a permanent criterion of socialist patriotism.

An equally unalterable principle for us is proletarian internationalism. Nothing will induce us to replace it with some other concept, or to alter its content in any way. Would it not be in conflict with our most immediate interests if we were to feel no coresponsibility for the fate of every socialist country? Could we as revolutionaries remain indifferent to the difficult social and political struggles of the working class in the capitalist countries? Would anyone want us to end our solidarity with the national liberation movements and the developing countries that are striving for complete political and economic independence? Are we to perhaps remain neutral toward the unprecedented upsurge of the mass movement of the fighters for peace in the entire world? We

are being guided, and will continue to be guided, by the ideas of Marx and Lenin that proletarian internationalism and the solidarity of all progressive and peace-loving forces are the workers' best weapon against imperialism's international political, economic and military conspiracy.

### Solid Unity Against the Warmongers

We are very much aware, especially in the present tense international situation, of the advantages of our alliance with the countries of the socialist community, and with the Soviet Union in particular. Experience has demonstrated that Soviet foreign policy is very humane, in agreement with the very essence of socialism, and therefore it is in the interest of entire mankind to support this policy. Soviet initiatives and the coordinated action of the countries belonging to the socialist community have produced much good for the world and Europe in particular, especially in the 1970's. Primarily the United States is responsible for the exceptionally dangerous worsening of the situation and for the clouds on the horizon of international relations. An appropriate share of the responsibility must be borne also by those United States allies that are subordinating themselves to the American plans to gain one-sided military superiority over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.

Certain bourgeois politicians and journalists are "amazed" that Moscow and its allies allegedly have not noticed the change in Washington's tone and "are not responding adequately." Well, tone does have its own importance, especially when the American presidential elections are approaching, and when its purpose is to calm disturbed public opinion in Western Europe. But as our late comrade, Yuriy Andropov, emphasized, the actions are the decisive. And they, regrettably, do not indicate even the slightest change in American policy. The gap between would-be touching peaceful phrases and demonstrable facts is too wide. And even though I am unable to list them all, what do the facts indicate? The United States administration is preparing for war on an unprecedented scale: the new budget earmarks more than 300 billion dollars a year for arms; the program for the production of all kinds of new nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons resembles a feverishly twisting spiral; the United States has taken the first steps to convert outer space into a battlefield; throughout the world the United States has 1,500 military bases and installations in 32 countries; more than 500,000 American servicemen are permanently outside their own country; the United States is interfering quite openly in the internal affairs of sovereign states in Central America, and in the Near, Middle and Far East; mankind cannot forget that big and strong America tested the doubtful "heroism" of its Marines by attacking tiny Grenada; and in Western Europe, intermediate-range nuclear missiles have been and are continuing to be installed, in spite of clearly demonstrated public opposition. What purpose is all this intended to serve? Perhaps to increase enormously the profits of the arms monopolies, at the expense of the American taxpayers? Or does the American administration seriously intend to turn all those weapons into scrap iron one fine day? Imperialism is not a peaceful lamb. The more and better weapons it has, the greater the danger that it will succumb to the temptation to plunge the world into destruction. To the Soviet Union's numerous initiatives Washington is replying negatively. Under these conditions, how can one misunderstand the exchange of words between the American Vice President and the Secretary of State, hinting at changes in the postwar arrangement in

Europe? How can one forget that the President, who pretends to be so peace-loving, has been the originator and organizer of a crusade against communism? Their reply is that we, too, are threatening to destroy capitalism. But here again our opponents, as they often tend to do, are adapting Marxism to their own image. We contend--and are convinced that we are right--that capitalism will necessarily become outdated, that in its womb the embryos of a new society will be formed. But we never claimed that we would overthrow the capitalist system by military force; after all, we have been advocates of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

It is no wonder that also the realistically thinking supporters of bourgeois society are criticizing the present policy of the United States, constantly and more boldly. Allow me to cite at least two examples from among the many. Richard Davy cannot be described as a friend of the communists. In THE TIMES of London he wrote: "For his foreign policy, Reagan continues to receive poor marks." And in the 2 January issue of the American INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, Averell Harriman said: "[The President] can no longer expect Americans to continue to support a policy which results in that relations with the Soviet Union are more dangerous than at any time under the previous generation." There is abundant proof that the policy of the United States is coming into conflict with the interests of more and more countries. During the past two years alone, the United States vetoed an even 100 draft resolutions within the United Nations Security Council. The American President may cynically say that it will not spoil his appetite even if a hundred or more nations vote in the United Nations against the United States, but the will of nations cannot be scorned endlessly with impunity.

#### Peace Must Prevail

And if now there is a call in Washington for a dialog, one cannot but agree with the Soviet party and state leadership: a dialog, yes, but a meaningful one, and not merely a smoke screen to mislead the public. And negotiations on intermediate-range missiles are possible only if NATO reverts to the situation before the commencement of their deployment. It is hopeless to try to maintain a dialog with the Soviet Union and its allies from a position of strength. Specifically this "from a position of strength" phenomenon in American policy, the efforts of NATO to gain one-sided military superiority, compelled the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic to resort to defensive measures. To contend that the American missiles actually serve to offset the Soviet Union's lead and are a response to the Soviet SS 20 missiles is, to put it very mildly, not convincing. After all, those who present these arguments cannot pretend that up to now there have not been any nuclear weapons in Western Europe and the adjacent seas! The Americans brought the first nuclear bombs to Europe already in 1948! The strength of this so-called prepositioned materiel is common knowledge, as is the fact that nuclear warheads also are available for the so-called conventional weapons. And indeed, one cannot disregard the nuclear weapons of Great Britain and France. This entire arsenal has been aimed for years at the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries. It is aimed at targets in Czechoslovakia, at Prague and our other economic centers and defense installations. Thus it is obvious that if two are doing the same thing, it is not always the same, that deployment is not deployment.

Thus the Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement on developing operational-tactical missile complexes is an entirely justified, forced defensive measure that increases our security. We still remember very clearly how the West's capitulation encouraged Hitler to military adventurism. The world has been convinced repeatedly that the aggressor always picks on the weak and becomes more aggressive as they capitulate.

Our alliance with the Soviet Union reassures us; its economic and military power guarantees our security. We will not lower our vigilance and underestimate the essential needs of defense, but will continue to live and work peacefully. We will concentrate all our efforts on the program for our country's economic and social development. As Comrade Husak said in his New Year speech, creative work is our most effective contribution toward maintaining and strengthening peace. We are confident that common sense will prevail and are reinforced by the unwavering determination of the defenders of peace throughout the world. We firmly believe that international understanding and peace must prevail.

The 36 years which have elapsed prove that in the decisive moment we stood on the right side of the barricade. Our people side with social progress, humanism and peace. And the CPCZ, which abides consistently by Lenin's teachings, is a guaranty that we will not deviate from the road on which we have embarked, and that we will remain true to the legacy of February.

Hurrah for the 36th anniversary of Victorious February! Long live the Czechoslovak working people and their leading political force, the Czechoslovak Communist Party!

1014

CSO: 2400/264

BYDGOSZCZ REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE RESULTS REPORTED

Account of Proceedings

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 30 Dec 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by Maria Szczuka and Bolseslaw Aszklar: "The Party Leads and Serves the Working People"]

[Text] The party provincial reports-elections conference deliberated beneath the slogan "the party leads and serves working people." It was also against this backdrop that discussion took place. In keeping with party tradition, the conference's first note of business was the marching in of the standard of the party provincial organization and the participants' signing of the "Internationale."

Of the 404 delegates selected at plant, gmina, city-gmina, and city conferences, 398 (i.e., 98.5 percent of the total elected) participated in the provincial conference.

While opening the conference, the first secretary of the outgoing provincial committee, Comrade Zenon Zmudzinski, recalled that the conference had presented the sum total of the party's activity and achievements during a special period in the history of our country.

This period concentrated party efforts and its struggle on returning unity to society and extricating the country from its crisis.

On behalf of the delegates, Comrade Zenon Zmudzinski welcomed the conference's guests, among whom were party Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski (the delegate of the Janikowski Soda Plants to the conference); the director of the Central Committee Secretariat Chancellery Boguslaw Kolodziejczyk; Government Presidium member and Minister-Plenipotentiary of Economic Reform Affairs Wladyslaw Baka; Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs Stanislaw Ciosek; Deputy Minister of Construction and the Construction Materials Industry Wojciech Kubiak; Workers' Publishing Cooperative President Zdzislaw Andruszkiewicz; Central Audit Commission Presidium member Cecylia Sikorska; the commander of the Pomeranian Military District, Division General Zbigniew Blechman; the Provincial Council chairman of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, Jerzy Wojciaka; the chairman of the Provincial Committee

of the United Peasant Party, Stanislaw Kubczak; the chairman of the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party, Andrzej Tchorzewski; the governor of Bydgoszcz Province, Bogdan Krolewski; and Provincial Committee Secretary Wojciech Ledwochowski.

Veterans of the workers' movement, who continue to participate actively in the life of the provincial party organization, also took part in the proceedings.

Marianna Czajkowska, a delegate from Inowroclaw, and Leonard Wojciechowski, a delegate from "Eltra" of Bydgoszcz, were elected conference chairpersons by the delegates.

Letters and telegrams sent to the conference by State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski, Council of Ministers Vice Chairman Zbigniew Szalajda, and the District Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party in Czerkasy were read aloud.

Comrade Zenon Zmudzinski, the first secretary of the provincial committee, read the conference's lead-in report. (A summary of the report is published elsewhere in this paper.)

The plenary discussion then began. (Coverage of the discussion's course, including the discussions in the problem-solving teams, is published elsewhere in this paper.) Ryszard Bandoszek, Franciszek Wojciechowski, Stanislaw Kubczak, Malgorzata Skonieczna, Andrzej Tchorzenwski, Kazimierz Kurkiewicz, Jan Szopinski, Eugeniusz Domagala, Miroslaw Koscielak and Colonel Jozef Kozdra spoke during the conference's first round of discussion.

Wladyslaw Baka, Government Presidium member and government plenipotentiary for economic reform affairs, also spoke during the conference's discussion. He evaluated this year's reform results, described the main modification principles of the new economic mechanism as presented to the Sejm, and focused attention on the determining factors and difficulties which we will face in the implementation of the tasks of 1984.

Minister Baka affirmed that there is more light than darkness in the balance of this year's economic activity. The year 1983 will be recorded as a year of mastering crisis developments, the stabilization of the socioeconomic situation, and relatively good results in industry and agriculture. As far as accomplishments are concerned, we have noted a rise in industrial production by 7.4 percent as a national rate; this is 5 percent higher than was planned. Also noteworthy is the attainment of a higher level of productivity than in 1979 (in a comparable period of time), the attainment of export increases over imports to capitalist countries in the amount of 1.2 million dollars by consistently restricting imports and production, and, finally, a certain success (although inadequate) in the most efficient management of material resources and manpower.



Minister Baka stressed that the tasks for 1984 will be implemented in a difficult political-economic situation, resulting both from a part of the world's continuing demand for a "weak Poland, embroiled in conflict" and some activists' adherence to old customs and habits. It is also the result of a continued state of frustration and discouragement on the part of a certain group of society. We are planning further development in production by relying on support from the USSR and tightening cooperation with the socialist countries. The modifications of several of the regulations governing the economic reform are supposed to serve a further improvement in management effectiveness. The chief goal is to expand pressures on the growth of production, the improvement of its quality and effectiveness, the elimination of unsubstantiated price increases, influencing the development of technological progress and a rejuvenation of foreign trade.

W. Baka stated that 1984 will see reform in wages. The main role in conducting the "wages revolution" will fall to the enterprises. The center will set only the following: the principles for providing the enterprises with monetary resources for wages, the lowest wage and size of allotments for work under harmful conditions or overtime; and the principles for qualifying and setting work wage rates. All other principles can be set by the enterprises themselves. Experiments in this area which have achieved an increase in productivity by 25-30 percent lead us to believe that we are going the best way.

Professor Baka emphasized that the consistent application of the reform's principles can lead to conflicts and tensions, especially in enterprises which are in difficult financial situations. As a result, an important task for political and economic activists will be the shaping of attitudes among the work forces, the winning over of society for these economic transformations, the involvement of those who stand on the sidelines in the implementation of these programs, and the creation of a general atmosphere of responsibility for what we are doing.

A lively discussion took place in the four problem-solving teams. Altogether 45 conference participants took part in these discussions. Comrade Janusz Zemke chaired the debate in Team 1, which dealt with the improvement of style and methods in party work. Comrade Ryszard Zawiszewski directed Team 2, which analyzed the ideological-educational tasks of the provincial party organization. Comrade Leonard Marciejewski headed Team 3, which covered the problems of developing the countryside, agriculture and food-stuff management. The basic problems in the development of industry, construction, transportation and commerce were discussed by Team 4, which was chaired by Comrade Ryszard Badoszek. Comrades Zygmunt Bryzgalski, Zefiryn Jedrzynski, Jozef Bala and Adam Belzerowski provided periodic reports on the work of these teams during the conference's plenary session.

Plenary discussion also continued. Bogdan Krolewski, Wlodzimierz Loginow, Bogdan Nalezty, Klemens Michalik, Kazimierz Borowa, Bogdan Porada, Andrzej Dudzinski, and Wojciech Kreczmanski spoke during the second half of the proceedings.



Party Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski also spoke. (Comrade Henryk Bednarski's speech is on page 3).

The conference elected 121 members to the provincial committee, 35 candidate members to the provincial committee, 41 members to the provincial party audit commission and 41 members to the provincial party control commission.

By secret ballot, the conference delegates entrusted the duties of provincial committee secretary to Zenon Zmudzinski.

At the same time, the first plenary sessions of the provincial party audit commission and provincial party control commission took place. Comrade Malgorzata Skonieczna was elected the chairperson of the provincial audit commission. Once again, Comrade Bogdan Nalezyty was elected to carry out the duties of chairman of the provincial party control commission.

It was decided that elections of executive board members and provincial committee secretaries would occur at the provincial committee plenary session in January 1984.

The conference also passed a resolution and delineated the basic direction for the efforts of the provincial party organization during the upcoming term of office.

The resolution appreciated the fact that the provincial party organization, while implementing the resolutions of the party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress during the past term of office, developed a constructive program for extricating the country from the crisis. Compliments were paid to those comrades who actively and selflessly worked in basic organizations, party committees, and problem-solving commissions, and who presented and defended the program and political policies of the party. The resolution also specified the tasks for all members and party organizations during the new term of office.

The conference's documents--the resolution and the basic directions for activities during the upcoming term of office--will be passed on to all party elements in the province.

In closing the deliberations of the provincial reports-elections conference, Party Provincial Committee First Secretary Comrade Zenon Zmudzinski expressed the view that the conference had accomplished its tasks, and had defined the main levels of party activity in the upcoming difficult period. A lively and comprehensive discussion and a feeling of responsibility for the party's development and the good of the fatherland promoted this optimism.

Summary, Speech by First Secretary

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 30 Dec 83 p 3

[Article: "We Have To Deal With New Tasks and Obligations"; summary of the report leading into the debate as rendered by Provincial Committee First Secretary Comrade Zenon Zmudzinski]

[Text] We are holding this provincial conference in a period of ongoing national social and economic stabilization. The time of tension and dramatic days during which our political adversaries concentrated their attack against the state and party and against social and professional organizations with complete impunity in order to threaten the safety of our citizens and the development of socialist democracy has passed for good.

The party has created a realistic basis for the stabilization of people's lives, a return to the idea of justice and compliance with legal and ethical-moral standards. At the same time, the party must continue to regain initiative and credibility through specific and wise action and lead society with political and not punitive measures.

Young people are strategically significant for the party.

To get young people, particularly workers and peasants, to identify with our party's program is the key task facing party echelons and organization. We must be sincere in dealing with the young. Let us show them a future, but one which is dependent on the honest efforts of all young people. Our socialist fatherland needs educated and energetic people. Being young should not prove to be an impediment in accepting important public positions. The majority of society approves of our social, political and economic goals. A new and credible image of socialist Poland, capable of socially and professionally rallying working people, is beginning to take shape more distinctly.

Today, when we demand changes in our country, we must recognize how these changes essentially affect the party's leadership role. A return to Leninist norms in party life remains our fundamental task. This return was promoted by the discussions within the party after the Central Committee's 13th and 14th plenums. The active and permanently enriched presence of the party among the broad masses has to become the most important aspect of our activity. With the greatest of concern, we must regard the people's vital needs which affect working conditions, genuine growth in wages, health care and finished goods. We are not talking here about only formally recognizing these problems, but of solving them as well.

An urgent task is the convincing of both the individual and the collective of the fact that we continue to find ourselves in a phase of political struggle and profound socioeconomic reform. We need to develop party know-how in thinking and acting politically, and in independently solving the

problems faced. Party training must be a form of dialogue and conversation concerning current national problems, thus giving us the opportunity to examine deeply those issues of concern to working people.

The majority of people in science, culture, and education accept the programs adopted by the party's Ninth Congress. Incidentally, Bydgoszcz itself has become in recent years an energetic center for science and culture. Schools are expanding and a musical theater and printing combine are being built. Most often, we have problems with education, primarily because of demographic fluctuations. These fluctuations result because of a lack of space in pre-school facilities and the difficult working conditions in rural schools.

The need for economic reforms arose in basic party elements and among the working class. Despite party efforts, a series of subjective factors limiting the introduction and effects of the economic reforms continues to be evident. These factors include outdated habits and the proficiency of some of our management personnel, the existence of parochial interests on the part of industrial branches and individual plants, and instances of the violation of economic laws which results because people are either unaware of or just choose to disregard them. And precisely an increase in production and its ability to meet requirements is an indispensable condition for overcoming the crisis and improving the sociopolitical situation. It is also indispensable for limiting the influence on our economy of fluctuations in the economics of the Western countries. Since August 1982 we have recorded a systematic growth in our industrial production at a rate higher than the national level. A comparison, however, of these results with those achieved in 1979 is still a poor one. Considerable uneasiness is caused by the problems facing the fulfillment of the annual plans for multiple-family apartment construction, all the more so because the apartment shortage is today one of our principal social problems.

In the party's efforts, which we are making together with the United Peasant Party in the countryside, we have had an effect on the development of self-government by concerning ourselves with providing for the farmers' basic needs. However, the effects of improving the operations of administrative and service agencies and the fight against helplessness, bureaucracy and callousness must be even greater. Despite well-known difficulties and poor weather conditions, Bydgoszcz farms successfully meet production quotas. Their production figures considerably in the total foodstuff production nationwide.

The strength of our arguments and consistency in the implementation of party programs figure in the struggle with our political adversaries. We are convinced that the program of our party and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is gaining popular support. Our program is one of progress. Our adversary's program offers nothing but negation.

The team of office which we are finishing today was not wasted time. Every party member and every organization and echelon made its contribution to our socioeconomic and political life. Much still does not please us and

we criticize our accomplishments and ourselves. Today, however, we are not worried about whether we can manage or not. Today we know that we have to deal with new obligations and tasks, we know that we are better prepared for this, and we know that the party cannot disappoint us.

Excerpts, Speech by Henryk Bednarski

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 30 Dec 83 p 3

[Article: "A Term of Great Trial"]

[Text] Honorable comrades delegates! You are winding up the provincial conference and I believe that I can say that we are also ending the provincial reports-elections campaign. Based on the experiences gained during this campaign, everyone here can affirm that it was different from the one which we all went through in 1981. The country is different, and so is the party. The problems of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum were hotly discussed at our meetings, especially those which workers attended. The violation of the sense of social fairness and petit-bourgeois greed were criticized. Many comments were made with regard to the struggle against pathological parasitism. International issues and the awareness that we are a part of a threatened world and that imperialism is conducting a dangerous arms race were also hotly debated. Our discussion showed no lack of concern for our own workplace, either, or for the effectiveness and efficiency of implementing the economic reform, or for our own living conditions.

We can confirm that our greatest recent accomplishment was that we, although slowly and with great difficulty, began to perceive and understand the difference between what we ourselves could change, improve or make better and what our system itself had to do.

You state in your report that difficult issues were often touched upon. We should be glad, inasmuch as the party now has something to deal with at its meetings. Keeping quiet or concealing something cannot contribute anything constructive. This is how it often was in the past, and the results proved to be threatening to the party and its political status.

This term of office was a great and, let us hope, unrepeatable trial for hundreds of party members and supporters; nothing and no one will erase this trial from our memories. He who survived it well and in good shape gained such trust from his comrades that, although it cannot be measured, it will simply help him to live life.

Now we have to think about the continuity and continuation of everything good undertaken by the party in recent months. This is as indispensable as an influx of new blood.

Comrades! In the statements made to the delegates, as well as in the final report, much consideration was given to what has changed during the past term in social, political and economic life. Undeniable and obvious changes have occurred in many spheres of political and economic life. Some of these changes are: progress in economics and an activation of social policies; political and economic reforms; a normalization in our socio-political life; greater access to culture; and a consolidation of the party's leading role.

The road we have traveled was not easy, but we were able to find the strength and wisdom to overcome the obstacles along it. The coming year as well as several thereafter will provide us many worries, problems to be solved, and unknown obstacles. We have to remember that the time for self-appeasement has not yet arrived and that the political struggle continues as before. The aktiv and its members need to be persuaded that we will reach our goals and overcome the crisis. We need to be stubborn and consistent in our implementation of tasks and the effective defense of those values which are the result of socialist changes. We bear a particular responsibility for strengthening our socialist system, overcoming this crisis, introducing reform in all areas of life, and consolidating the party.

Martial law and recent history have introduced through the laws and acts of the Sejm indispensable elements which have disciplined production. Technological-material conditions for production have been guaranteed. The production results gained indicate that this year's plan will not only be fulfilled, but even exceeded. Bydgoszcz Province has contributed to much of this. On the basis of recently acquired experiences, we have to state categorically that the economic reform has been correctly implemented in Bydgoszcz Province owing to the initiatives of our factories and the inspirational role of party organizations.

It was also a good thing that much of the proceedings' attention was focused on the issues of young people and education, inasmuch as further changes are necessary. Only a small number of young people continue to participate in the activities of social organizations. Attitudes that we will again only win a small number of this important group continue to prevail. But we may not continue to sit by idly; this is not in our interest. There can be in this struggle for the hearts and minds of young people only one victor--the party. For this to happen, however, we need to increase the activity of young people's associations, which are still characterized by a low level of organization, although certain favorable changes have recently been observed.

Our opponents are waiting for our mistakes and any relaxation in our political effort. They have suffered a series of defeats, but they intend to continue the struggle against the people's power and our system. They intend to retard the stabilization process by any and all possible means. They have given up on tactical actions which did not have the desired results; they seek new goals which can bring all other opponents of the system together.

For instance, they now criticize the so-called "peaceful" disposition of Solidarity. They are spreading the idea that had they acted more decisively when martial law was imposed, they would have been more successful. On the heels of this idea comes the need for more contributions. On the other hand, Bujak's so-called Provisional Coordinating Commission has specifically advocated the promotion of tactics which on paper envision a struggle lasting through several phases for several years.

What our domestic opposition and Western centers of subversion have in common is the desire to undertake provocative action which will cause the most widespread dissatisfaction among the public. They are utilizing mainly the problems with our economy, proclaiming that the whole burden and cost for the mistakes committed by the government have been shifted onto the people. This is to become the basis for "continued resistance" and change, depending on the methods of struggle chosen.

This all proves unequivocally that there are still forces in Poland which aim at creating extreme political situations. This is consonant with the policies of Ronald Reagan. The opposition is pleased by every and any manifestation of dissatisfaction.

We also have to reckon with the opposition undertaking counterrevolutionary measures as events develop further. We need to be aware of this and must consider it all as part of our party activities.

Comrades! In light of past experiences and in consideration of the tasks arising from this current situation, we have to concentrate the party's efforts on upcoming problems.

First of all, we must focus our efforts on strengthening the organizational, qualitative and political unity of the party's ranks. The provincial echelon does this well. This has been proven by the decline in the numbers of people leaving the party and by the monthly growing number of those joining it. At the same time, we need to see to it that the party organizations and echelons have all the advantages of effective operation. This requires that the party have the know-how to foresee events, their results and our countermeasures.

Further, strengthening the genuine ties between the echelons and the party apparatus and our party members is of real importance. Direct meetings with the party's rank and file and with groups of nonpartisan workers and peasants should become the principle places for discussing the usefulness of ventures undertaken by every echelon. The ongoing campaign proves that such moves are becoming more and more widespread and that this demonstrates the party's openness and its search for contacts with the public to learn its reaction to adopted programs. More often than not, we should draw suggestions from these meetings for improving the efforts of the state and economic administration.

A follow-up obligation which faces the party is the consolidation of all those favorable developments won recently. Positive stabilization requires that they be made permanent. This demands a continuing definition of tasks, skillful response to social needs and an ability to adapt to local requirements. A major aspect of this is the constant adaptation of the tasks contained in our resolutions to reality. A policy of national consensus and struggle immutably remains the strategic direction of the party during this period of extricating the country from the crisis. Success in realizing this policy should be expressed in the development of trade unions and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the rejuvenation of the efforts of self-government, and an increase in social and production initiatives.

Success, continued success in the areas indicated, will mean that the policy of consensus is permanent and that the normalization process is intensifying.

Comrades! I am convinced that you will share my opinion that the provincial conference fulfilled its task and the expectations of party members. It has provided, thanks to the delegates, a comprehensive and possibly thorough review of the Bydgoszcz party organization's issues and problems. This guarantees that the program worked out today for the provincial party organization will be rich in content and realistic with regard to its implementation capabilities. I sincerely wish this for you all and myself.

May I have the chance to pay tribute to the outgoing provincial leadership for its creative attitudes and party activism. I especially wish to compliment my successor, Comrade Zenon Zmudzinski, who has been directing the provincial organization for several weeks now.

The secretaries of the local party echelons are also largely responsible for the conference's success. May you become a good and tested aktiv, may you undertake more and more ambitious tasks. This I wish for you and this is what the party expects.

In the name of the leadership of the Central Committee, I compliment the entire provincial organizations, its members and aktiv, the plant organizations working in the countryside among young people and in science and culture, and wish you all fruitful and productive efforts for the good of the party and our socialist fatherland.

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REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCES IN ARMED FORCES DISCUSSED

Silesian Military District Conference

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Jan 84 pp 1,2

[Article by Stanislaw Reperowicz: "Party Feeling Documented by Earnest Work: the Silesian Military District"]

[Text] (Own information) The PZPR reports-election conference of the Silesian Military District was held in Wroclaw on 6 January. Units of the Silesian Military District have played an important role in our national defenses since they took up their positions on the Oder and Neisse Rivers at the close of hostilities in 1945. Units of this district also contributed to the management of a large part of the recovered western lands, especially Lower Silesia. The lasting bonds of friendship between the soldiers and inhabitants of these lands are based on the close cooperation of the army and the public in this region.

Representatives of all troop generations met in the assembly hall. Among them were veterans of the front lines who had begun their combat service at the Battle of Lenino, partisans from the forests of Lublin, participants in the storming of Berlin and the establishment of popular rule, military school graduates who had studied during the Cold War period and the 1970's, the young generation of warrant officers and principal service troops having joined the army after 1980, and representatives of the growing mass of army civilian employees.

Also taking part in the conference were: Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski; Deputy Chief of the Polish Army General Staff Div Gen Mieczyslaw Dachowski; and Deputy Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army Leslaw Wojtasik. The first secretary of the PZPR provincial committee in Wroclaw, Zdzislaw Balicki, was also present.

Report

In the report by the outgoing committee and the majority of speeches, the dominant thought was that the mission of party organizations in the Silesian



Military District should be to provide highly effective ideological training activities to strengthen further the defensive strength of the district's troops.

The committee's report stated: "Over the past 2 and 1/2 years, we have noticed in our district positive changes in party members' attitudes and the Marxist-Leninist preparation of professional cadres for defense of our socialist fatherland. The most significant changes were a sense of deep understanding among the troops of the party's policies and the need to strengthen the combat readiness of the district's units.

"Career soldiers have shown a particularly high level of ideological cohesion. Their deep political knowledge, ability to evaluate the class structure of events in our nation and sense of commitment have had a positive effect upon the other troops. The party feeling of a career soldier consists, above all, of firm ideological principles and steadfastness against opposition, and courage and ardor in defense of the party.

"The high level of party membership within the professional cadre, especially cadres directly involved in troop education, deserves comment. They are responsible for the attitudes and combat readiness of subunits. For example, nearly 100 percent of our company and battalion commanders are members of the PZPR.

"Since 1981, there has been a constant and meaningful growth in the number of new PZPR members. Almost half of the new members are military service troops of mostly worker or peasant background, mainly ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] activists and training foremen."

#### Discussion

Col Henryk Grzesiecki pointed out the need for teaching the young command cadre a methodology for ideological training because the army always receives a certain number of young people who lack a proper sense of political judgment, especially in international affairs. We must skillfully convince them that beneath its colorful facade, imperialism is aggressive in essence.

Maria Matryba spoke about the education of military families, which are supposed to be the model of the socialist family.

Col Kazimierz Tomaszewski addressed the problem of educating graduates of civilian schools of higher education that have been called up for military training. He stated: "The present-day generation of troops cannot let any of the tradition established by World War II veterans be lost. Close contact is needed between troops in active service and combat veterans who were later part of the great effort to build People's Poland. Nothing influences our youth like the living word."

Sgt Waldemar Osypiuk of the Engineering Officers Higher School said that a strong youth organization in close everyday cooperation with the party should play an important role in the ideological struggle for the young generation of

Poles. The same problem was addressed by the chairman of the ZSMP circle, Staff Sgt Henryk Dudek. In the units in which they serve, every second member of the ZSMP is a training foreman. In its actions, the youth organization supports the party organization's initiatives. Soldiers hasten to give economic aid, take part in harvests and potato diggings, give blood, care for orphans and fund their housing.

Col Tadeusz Nalogowski informed the conference that troops of the Katowice regional defense brigade are performing production work for the mining, construction, transportation and machinery industries. Their efforts have helped overcome economic difficulties but the most important effect has been that thousands of young people are being taught the value of human labor and are learning to respect good work. Thanks to this, they are finding their own place in life after leaving active service, all the more so as their army service has provided them with professional training in lucrative trades.

Many of the speeches given at the conference concerned the army's ties to society, which, in the past three years, have reached their strongest level since 1948. Party principles and the moral purity of the ranks have been an unshakable trump in presenting the party's policies to various communities. The district's soldiers have participated in hundreds of meetings in work establishments and schools. Many officers function as members of provincial, city and community party echelons, hundreds of other soldiers are active in local youth organizations and PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], while many others function in councils. The members of the Union of Former Career Soldiers have been important allies in this work.

Col Zdzislaw Rozbicki, deputy commander for political affairs in the Silesian Military District, spoke about the critical threat to peace posed by imperialist states and the political subversion aimed at Poland. Western-based Polish-language radio stations are also trying to attack our army in their broadcasts.

Our armed forces have shown us that patriotic behavior is closely associated with internationalism. The current political situation in the world demands that we know our friends and strengthen our trust in one another. Deepening our friendship and armed brotherhood with the Soviet Army and allied Warsaw Pact armies is now especially important.

An important task facing our party organizations is teaching all of our troops the new "ethical principles of career soldiers." These principles set moral standards for men in uniform. The embodiment of these ethics makes it possible to strengthen further the ideological integration of the military community and to create a proper attitude toward military service and private behavior. The preservation of these principles protects our troops from the action of our political enemies and strengthens discipline and order.

The commander of the Silesian Military District, Div Gen Henryk Rapacewicz, thanked the party organizations and all party members for their efforts, sacrifice and exemplary attitudes, thanks to which the troops of the district have accomplished all of the tasks assigned them by the Ministry of National

Defense. Good results have also been attained in training and field exercises. The army technical and quartermaster services also achieved much in their work.

The party's influence also made itself felt in the work of individual commanders. Army unit commanders have been able to make the most appropriate decisions because, among other things, they were aided by collegial bodies made up of mostly party members. PZPR members also played a great role in establishing military discipline and order.

Speech by T. Porebski

T. Porebski expressed the party's sincere thanks and respect to Silesian Military District troops for all that they have done for the state and society, including their good work during the martial law period. He stated his conviction that now that we are emerging from the crisis, there will be no lack of uniformed party candidates and members.

The army's assistance to society and the nation is just as valuable and necessary today as it was years ago because the road to Poland's full social, political and economic stabilization will remain a hard one. "The present situation, both at home and abroad," the Central Committee secretary said, "places still more important tasks before our entire party, especially the army party echelons and organizations."

Later, in his assessment of the current reports-elections campaigns in the party, the speaker said that they are confirming the further political and organizational consolidation of the PZPR. The high point of the present campaign will be the National Convention of Delegates.

At the conclusion of his address, T. Porebski also presented other party tasks that need to be accomplished during the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic as well as during the election to the people's councils.

Stanislaw Grzasko Re-elected First Secretary

At the end of the conference, a resolution was adopted outlining directions and tasks for party work during the current period.

Stanislaw Grzasko was re-elected first secretary of the Silesian Military District PZPR committee.

#### Navy Conference

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Jan 84 pp 1,2

[Article: "Soldierly Concern for the Future of the Fatherland: Navy Conference"]

[Text] The Navy PZPR Reports-Elections Conference was held in Gdynia. Delegates reviewed the activities of the last recent term, assessed the part

their organizations and departments have played in implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and subsequent plenary meetings of the PZPR Central Committee, and outlined tasks for the next several years.

Taking part in this conference were candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and First Secretary of the Gdansk Provincial PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger; member of the Central Party Control Commission and Director of the Ministry of National Defense Department of Cadres Div Gen Zygmunt Zielinski; and Deputy Director of the Chief Political Directorate of the Polish Army Brig Gen Albin Zyto. All spheres of party and army activity were discussed with justifiable pride in achievements such as the good, prudent performance of martial law responsibilities and soldierly concern for the future of the socialist fatherland. It was pointed out that the vigor and cohesion of the party ranks and the activity, strong principles and commitment of PZPR Navy members have grown and become stronger. The inspiration provided by the PZPR aktiv and navy party cells was accented in the realization of ideological, political and training tasks. There was much discussion about efficient and economical management and maintenance of combat gear in a state of constant readiness.

Ideological and training problems were the dominant note in extensive discussions. It was pointed out that activity in this area has concentrated on strengthening the organizational cohesion and ideological unity of the party ranks. As stated, the work of party organizations has done much to create ideologically and politically committed attitudes among party members and candidates, to deepen their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, to improve the moral and political condition of navy party collectives and to mobilize members to self-sacrificing and earnest fulfillment of their duties.

The conference included discussion of tasks that are part of the internal and external functions of armed forces in a socialist state. It was said that NATO's aggressive build-up of nuclear and conventional arms and its deployment of new nuclear missile systems on the European continent have required the party and the army to improve our combat readiness, a task of the greatest importance. Within this context, it was pointed out that vigorous activity by party organizations and the strong commitment of PZPR members have created an atmosphere fostering a high degree of combat readiness in the navy and have enabled it to realize its training programs successfully.

There was also discussion of the joint efforts by the Warsaw Pact to coordinate actions in the Baltic Sea between the Polish Navy, the Soviet Baltic Fleet and the People's Navy of the German Democratic Republic. It was stressed that, along with the growing military threat from NATO, imperialist political subversion groups and domestic antisocialist forces, although they have been compromised and have limited support, are conducting a sharp ideological battle and aggressive propaganda against Poland, socialism, the party and the armed forces. This demands that we take up more aggressive party actions to deepen political sensitivity and act effectively to counteract these threats.

It was said that the navy party organizations have done much to maintain close ties with the region's civilian party organizations, the public and especially

with the working class and youth. The need to improve these contacts was mentioned. The 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic should help achieve this goal. During the anniversary, sailors, under the guidance of their party organizations, will once again affirm their unbreakable ties to society.

During the discussion, Stanislaw Bejger described the actual social and political situation in the Gdansk seacoast region. He said that it had improved very much in the last few years; however, due to intense activity of the political opposition, more efforts in accordance with the Ninth PZPR Congress policy of struggle and agreement are needed to maintain the improvement of the situation.

Stanislaw Bejger stressed that the party became stronger after the Ninth Congress and that it gained organizational cohesion and ideological unity. Naval party members, in close cooperation with the civilian party organizations of the Gdansk seacoast region, have made their own contributions to this strengthening of the party. The speaker emphasized the need to maintain and improve this cooperation, which has done so much to reinforce the party's leading role in the state and society.

Referring to the growing military threat to the socialist states and Poland from NATO and acts of aggression by imperialist circles in the United States, S. Bejger spoke about the importance of strengthening Poland's system of defenses.

In conclusion, the speaker warmly thanked navy comrades for their concern about state affairs, their selfless labor in service to socialist Poland, and their dutiful performance of martial law tasks. He also expressed his thanks for their present participation in efforts to achieve further social, political and economic stabilization, which is so necessary for Poland to overcome its state of crisis.

Brig Gen Mieczyslaw Cygan and Adm Ludwik Janczyszyn participated in the conference.

Zenon Dudziak Re-elected First Secretary, Navy PZPR Committee

At the conclusion of the conference, a resolution was passed outlining the program of action for the navy party organization for the coming period. A new navy PZPR committee was chosen and Zenon Dudziak was re-elected first secretary.

#### Air Defense Conference

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Jan 84 pp 1,2

[Article: "Conference of Air Defense Troops"]

[Excerpt] (Own service) Poland's air defense units are usually called the "troops of the first five minutes." This

is a proud statement and it somehow distinguishes these troops and places certain obligations upon them. For that reason, the PZPR Air Defense Reports-Election Conference, held on 14 January in Warsaw, was characterized by a feeling of creative dissatisfaction and ideas for a better tomorrow in which every day would strengthen the party, nation, armed forces and air defenses.

Conference participants gave a warm welcome to PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member Gen of Arms Florian Siwicki.

Conference participants included Chief Inspector of Equipment and Vice Minister of National Defense Zbigniew Nowak and Polish Army Chief Political Directorate Deputy Chairman of Military Training Brig Gen Mieczyslaw Wlodarski.

#### In Every Indicator

The WOPK [National Air Defense Forces] party organization's presently ending term was a time of great changes in the social and political situation of the nation. For National Air Defense PZPR members, this period was marked by great tension and the struggle to liquidate counterrevolution, and efforts to rally society around a program to overcome the national crisis, the introduction of economic reform, reinforcement of the party's authority and leading role in society and the re-establishment of a national understanding upon new principles.

The outgoing National Air Defense PZPR committee's report, read by First Secretary Col Piotr Muchowiecki, thus described the period now ending. At the same time, the committee report stressed that comrades, the primary service troops and civilian employees, performed their tasks with honor. The real value of the period was that it saw a growth of experience and ideological and political maturity in the commanders and troops alike. The sharp conflict with the enemy reinforced the ideological cohesion and party organization in the National Defenses.

During this period, the main effort of all party organizations was directed toward the consistent realization of the resolutions passed by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and subsequent plenary sessions of the PZPR Central Committee. Special emphasis was put on constantly keeping air defense troops in perfect discipline and full readiness and creating among the principal service troops and civilian cadre highly ideological and service-oriented attitudes. It cannot be forgotten that the participation of KOK [National Defense Committee] plenipotentiaries and professional troops in military operations groups and their work as commissars made very important contributions to the economy and to society. This was an unusually eloquent illustration of the idea that our army is an integral part of the nation that insures its independence, socialist development and peace. The source of the army's ideological and political strength and cohesion--its class character and function--was, is and will continue to be its unbreakable bond with the people.

Much attention was devoted to the problems of combat readiness and the strengthening of the nation's moral and political state. It was emphasized that, in the face of qualitatively new dangers from the aggressive activities of imperialist circles in the United States, the deployment in Europe of new American nuclear missile systems and NATO's escalation of the arms race, the danger in Poland and all nations of the socialist community has reached a new quantitative and qualitative dimension. This obliges the National Air Defense forces to intensify command work by all party echelons, instances and organizations to improve the effectiveness of our air defense system, an important element of the Warsaw Pact defenses.

In this connection, it was stressed that, in the National Air Defense, considering the specific nature of its service and its execution of tasks in small and often widely separated groups, personal relationships become very important. For this reason, party echelons and organizations must do everything to ensure comradely, warm relationships between their troops. The soldier's view of the world as an important area of ideological struggle was also discussed. This should therefore become a permanent, essential element of the total ideological and educational work of all National Air Defense party organizations and echelons.

The reports by the PZPR Problems Committee and the National Air Defense Party Control Commission thus shows that the period of the last term was an unusually difficult one but was also a successful test of the strength, discipline, and ideological, moral and political cohesion of all uniformed party members. It can thus be said that our comrades have not wasted their time, that they completely passed the test, their activity was greatly effective and obvious in every facet of life among troops in fighter aviation, rocketry, radio communications and all of the various other units of the National Air Defense Forces.

#### To See the Most Important Matters

This does not mean that the party welfare organizations do not see still-existing possibilities or shortcomings in certain realms of party activity. This was confirmed by rich, comprehensive, constructive and sober discussion during which some interesting opinions and recommendations were presented along with proposals for improving party interorganizational, ideological, educational and economic activity.

This debate was also characterized by efforts to reduce problems to their most essential elements and to concentrate above all on principles of ideological and educational work, closely connected with the quality of tasks performed during combat training and the moral and political education of troop collectives. The most important party task remains that of constantly maintaining high combat readiness so that our air defenses are strong and effective under all circumstances. The commander of the National Air Defense Forces, Div Gen Longin Lozowicki, broadly discussed these matters and reviewed the most important tasks now facing units in the realm of strengthening combat readiness, training and economic work, as well as ideological and educational work.

Comrades participating in the discussion shared views from their own areas of service and party work and made certain recommendations on how to achieve highly qualified principal service troops. The recommendations presented included development and strengthening of party ranks by strict observance of Leninist standards of party life and teaching party members ideological and moral attitudes and proper attitudes toward service responsibilities, giving proper importance to criticism as a principle means of revealing and overcoming weaknesses, strong, consistent and uncompromising opposition to enemy political subversion and the liquidation of hostile, antisocialist attitudes and behavior. In connection with this, comrades such as Ryszard Michalik, Marian Kindracki, Stanislaw Chlebowski and Jerzy Smotrys emphasized that party loyalty is above all expressed by conscientious performance of tasks and in everyday attitudes. This leads one to the conclusion that the foundation of all accomplishments are the army's internal cohesion and broad discipline, including party discipline.

Many comrades felt and demanded that the basis of all training, educational, production and social-welfare activities be a still more closely integrated effort by military, party and public echelons since, as military practice has shown, the sum of their actions determines success. Pointing out the real possibilities, the speakers thus appealed that greater use be made of social organizations and military associations. Much attention was devoted to the problem of party ideological leadership in the activities of youth organizations (that leadership is not always the best, especially on the level of the primary party organizations and the ZSMP). Considering the growing responsibilities of the armed forces' ideological front, especially in light of the decrees of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, there were proposals for improving the system of ideological and political training, establishing a materialistic view of the world and popularizing lay attitudes and socialist customs within the ranks and military families. All of these questions were addressed in speeches by Alfred Kupiec, Kazimierz Grazewicz, Apoloniusz Siekanski, Hubert Mordawski, Alicja Rudzinska and Aldona Dudek.

An important part of the discussions were matters of economical and rational management as a fundamental factor in alleviating difficulties and solving many of the existential problems of the military community. This type of management would mean that the resources entrusted by the state, by the entire working public, be most effectively used and that dependable combat readiness, training, social and living needs be fulfilled at the least relative cost. This problem was discussed by the following delegates and comrades: Janusz Graczykowski, Stanislaw Waligora, Zenon Marchewka, Michal Ciezki and Elzbieta Swietalska. They also emphasized that widely-understood effective management and thrift is necessary for further progress and is the moral and ethical responsibility of National Air Defense troops. The speakers also proposed widely applied technical training on the maintenance of gear in good working order and combat readiness.

All of the statements from the conference discussions lead to the conclusion that the feeling of duties well performed should not keep National Air Defense Troops from being aware of the importance of new tasks that must be performed in the still difficult situation. They must remember that the place of the



party remains among the people. During the conference, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Minister of National Defense Gen of Arms Florian Siwicki spoke.

#### Air Force Conference

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Jan 84 pp 1,2

[Article by Jozef Frateczak and Henryk Wierski: "Campaign To Inspire Improved Party Activity in the Air Force"]

[Text] (Own service) The Air Force PZPR Report-Elections Conference assessed its activities during an especially difficult period in the history of People's Poland. During the last party term, the air force collectives again confirmed their ideological and political maturity, their deep devotion to socialist Poland and their high level of qualification.

Acting in a climate of sharp political conflict fed by Western centers of subversion and performing numerous added duties in civilian communities throughout Poland, air force communists were the chief motivating force for their service's good implementation of its training, educational and economic tasks and directly contributed to its high degree of combat readiness and effectiveness.

Satisfaction over their extensive achievements along with earnest concern for more effective party activities characterized the reports-elections conference of the PZPR Air Force which was held on 19 January in Poznan.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, participated in the conference.

The Poznan provincial party organization was represented by Central Committee member and Poznan Province PZPR Committee First Secretary Brig Gen Edward Lukasik. Also present were Chief Inspector of Training and Deputy Minister of Defense Gen of Arms Eugeniusz Molczyk and First Deputy Chairman of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army Div Gen Tadeusz Szacilo. One of the delegates to the conference was the present commander of the Polish Air Force, Tytus Krawczyc. Div Gen Tadeusz Krepski, a member of the PZPR Central Audit Commission, was the conference's guest speaker.

Report materials and an analysis of problems, read by the first secretary of the outgoing Air Force PZPR committee, Col Marian Gasperowicz, stressed that the mainstream of all party organization activities is marked by numerous enterprises of an ideological nature. These enterprises have concentrated on establishing aggressive, committee attitudes among PZPR members and a feeling of individual and collective responsibility for the future of the socialist state and the people and strengthening moral and political cohesion, discipline and the commitment of personnel as the most important prerequisites of troop readiness.

In the term presently ending, party attention was focused on the ideological and political training of enlisted youth. Directed by the decrees of the Ninth Congress and the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, there were fulfilled both the immediate and long-term goals of ZSMP ideological patronage. With great intensity, our troops were shown the real purposes of hostile actions by imperialist centers in the West. This has freed and established ideological motivations for exemplary service and work as well as a conscious need for social commitment. Special concern has been shown for future career soldiers, students of the Air Force Officers Higher School and warrant officers higher schools. As a result, the ranks of the party and youth organization have grown.

A stern test of the effectiveness of action in this field and of human attitudes and convictions was the period of martial law. Air force communists clearly and unambiguously called out for a return to principles of socialist government and public order. In addition to exemplary realization of everyday training tasks with great commitment and selflessness, they took upon themselves special activities within territorial operations groups as military commissars and KOK plenipotentiaries.

Air force troops also made numerous contributions to the activities of PRON. On several occasions, they were the motivators and organizers of enterprises aimed at normalizing social and political life and counteracting the effects of the economic crisis. These enterprises have set the foundations for a better future for the nation.

As an important element of our people's armed forces and the defense structure of the socialist states, the Polish Air Force is perfecting its combat techniques in close cooperation with other armies of the Warsaw Pact. Particularly rich and fruitful internationalist bonds link Polish airmen with units of the Soviet Northern Army Group. In concrete embodiment of friendship and brotherhood in arms, there is extensive cooperation between headquarters, staffs, party organizations, ORW [Military Dependents Organization] youth circles and Women's Councils [Zhensovet]. They have combined their forces to organize training, ideological education, cultural, recreational, and athletic enterprises.

Another example of sincere friendship was the telegram sent to participants of the conference by the air command of the Soviet Northern Army Group expressing fraternal greetings and good wishes for further accomplishments in combat training and party political activity.

#### Co-authors of Training Achievements

One of the main examples of the constructive presence of PZPR echelons and organizations in the air force is the broad party support given activities to improve combat training. The conference report stated that, thanks to extensive activity in this area, air force units have maintained constant readiness and are fully able to perform their tasks. Good and very good results have also been obtained in combat training and flight safety. To better realize the tasks assigned to troops, everyday party activity has

concerned itself with popularizing the principle that training must be conducted not only better, but also more economically and, thus, with more consistent observation of demands for thrifty management.

During the past term, there were hundreds of creatively involved soldiers and civilian employees who proposed over 3600 very valuable projects. The introduction of a decided majority of these proposals, often on a service-wide scale, achieved a savings estimated at almost 91 million zlotys, independently of many other intangible but great gains such as improvements in the system of command, control and administration, readiness for emergency and mobilizational work organization and training safety.

#### Freeing Human Energy and Commitment

The presentation of accomplishments was not the main purpose of the conference. Its main subject was sober, critical debate inspiring a search for ways to improve party work even further in all of its manifestations and to increase the positive influence of PZPR echelons and organizations on the performance of units and subunits.

Delegates participating in the discussion spoke very directly about still-existing weaknesses and shortcomings. They also pointed out the causes and made concrete proposals for further activity. The demand for intensified and comprehensive ideological work to improve the political, ideological and moral cohesion of air force personnel remains a duty of the highest order, just as important as combat training.

Wladyslaw Kozlowski, Ryszard [illegible text] and other comrades pointed out that there continue to be relatively greater needs for indoctrination of young enlisted men. With the direct participation of the party aktiv and WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism] graduates, the troops must be given an increasingly thorough social and political education. They must be taught independent, Marxist-Leninist assessment and interpretation of events and processes in Poland and abroad. More party support is needed for the ZSMP at all levels for it to realize its statutory tasks.

Participants in the discussion, including Tytus Krawczyc, Adam Biedzinski, Stanislaw Wojdyla, Ryszard Leszczynski and Ryszard Zak, made special mention of problems concerning flight safety, increasing the standards for persons responsible for the proper organization of training and suitable preparation for training activities, firm opposition to each noted case in which routine regulations have been violated or responsibilities overlooked.

During the discussion it was said that, practically speaking, there are no areas of service or work that could not in the future be improved by party activities. Thus, the natural order of topics also included many other important subjects. Delegates such as Jakub Fijalkowski and Wlodzimierz Komowski pointed out some other strong possibilities for the realization of the thrift and anti-inflation program and stated that it is necessary effectively to counteract damage and loss of army property. Urszula Krawczyc, Aleksander Grajewski and others also pointed out the need for newly elected

party officials on all levels to provide greater and more substantial assistance to garrison social organization such as the ORW, employees' councils and union organizations.

Referring to decrees by the 18th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, Comrades Stanislaw Jagiello and Waldemar Lagodowski proposed more aggressive and effective action to popularize a scientific outlook and lay forms of custom and ceremony with comprehensive use of the new version of "Ethics and Customs of Professional Soldiers in the Polish People's Army." There is also a definite need systematically to strengthen air force cooperation with the civilian community in areas such as this year's ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the Polish Army and Polish Air Force.

#### K. Barcikowski's Speech

Kazimierz Barcikowski shared the conference participants' sincere and high assessment of the activities of the air force party organizations during the past term. The effects of party work were evaluated and possibilities and reserves for better realization of tasks were pointed out. "Although we are evaluating air force party work," he said, "we should take a larger view of our party and army. Our party as a whole, and especially the air force party organization, have made historical achievements during the past term. This is because what we did during martial law and later was in defense of socialism and the good of the nation. What matters most is that we did this ourselves. The historical service given by the army is that you defended the army and its position without our state and the Warsaw Pact. Today, we must clearly see this fact and completely understand what has been done, not allowing ourselves to be swayed by the various pundits and enemies for whom the measures then taken were most painful. We must realize that Poland alone delivered herself from this difficult situation. No one can belittle the significance of this fact because we now see with complete understanding that the decisions made at that time saved Poland from the fate suffered by Lebanon. Our opponents did not feel that they could take Poland out of the socialist camp. They knew that this was unrealistic but they did intend to bring our nation to the boiling point and use our nation as a field of confrontation between the world powers. This situation continues to be critical since tension is rising around the world and confrontation and militarism are gaining the upper hand in world affairs."

Referring to anti-Polish propaganda activities conducted by centers of ideological subversion, the Central Committee secretary stated that there is great disappointment in those circles at the fact that what they once had within reach has not been denied them by our actions. In the realistic political circles of some Western European states, they have stopped negating the introduction of martial law in Poland. They know that no nation could allow itself to fall apart. They are also beginning to see progress in the normalization of life here and there is a growing conviction that Poland must return to an active role in the world. However, none of these politicians have publicly expressed their views.

K. Barcikowski stated: "It is a matter of the utmost importance that, during this difficult period, thanks to the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense, commanders and the united action of the party press, you have defended the unity and moral and political cohesion of the army and its ability to act in a difficult situation. You have defended the Polish Army as a political force free from internal disruption. It seems that even to this day, we are still not completely aware that this is our army's great political achievement. These values must be guarded with all of our strength and in all situations. We must use this as an example to all of society. Our party has understood this and this is reflected in the Sejm's decision on changes in the structure of the KOK making possible the introduction of a state of emergency when necessary. This was necessary since the political struggle has not yet ended but has, on the other hand, intensified. This cannot be forgotten."

The speaker characterized some of the party activities to be conducted in the coming period and the ensuing tasks to be taken up by all elements of the PZPR. The end of the reports-elections campaign is approaching and the National Conference of PZPR Delegates will soon be held. Coming political events also include people's council elections and observances of the 40th Anniversary of the Polish Army. The party conferences have confirmed the unity of the PZPR ranks and increased the party's ability to act. The National Conference will soon assess the realization of the Ninth Congress resolutions and establish a political platform for our party in its people's council elections. The Polish Army's 40th Anniversary should become a battle to implant in the public mind a truthful image of history and the role that the forces of progress have played in Poland's postwar years.

The Central Committee secretary devoted much of his discussion to the significance of economic problems in overcoming the national crisis. "Today," he said, "the focus of party work has been transferred to the realm of economics. The past year has shown signs of improvement thanks to a growth in industrial and agricultural production and increased national income. One of the key problems that must be solved now and in coming years is controlling inflation. This can only be done by exercising greater economic discipline and, above all, restricting incomes, costs and the turnover of products. Management efficiency and production quality must be increased and material must be saved. It is, however, an illusion to think that there can be created an economic mechanism capable of 'thinking' for people. The economic reform can only create structures and its realization and success is in the hands of the people." In his concluding remarks, K. Barcikowski said: "We must not only understand the sources and extent of the crisis in Poland but above all relate this to the future so that we can operate better and more efficiently. We can now do this effectively since we are already in better circumstances, but we must do it ourselves."

At the end of the conference, a resolution was passed defining the activities of the air force party organization for the coming term. Col Marian Gasperowicz was re-elected first secretary of the new Air Force PZPR Committee and the position of chairman of the Air Force Party Control Commission was entrusted to PZPR Central Committee candidate member Col Kazimierz Ochocki.

## Pomeranian Military District Conference

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Jan 84 pp 1,2

[Article by Janusz Borkowski: "Campaign To Inspire Improved Party Activity in the Pomeranian Military District"]

[Text] (Own service) "Our moral duty is to defend the political reasons of the people and nation in every situation." This was the slogan for the 18th Pomeranian Military District PZPR Reports-Elections Conference which was held on 19 January in Bydgoszcz. Delegates representing all communities of the district arrived with a feeling that they had well met their obligations as soldiers and party members. The conference was held with a feeling of pleasure that the Pomeranian Military District leads the armed forces in troop training and education and creative dissatisfaction to achieve even better future performance of party service tasks.

PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski was present at the conference.

Participating in the conference were Chief of the Polish Army General Staff Div Gen Jozef Uzycki; Bydgoszcz PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary Zenon Zmudzinski; and Deputy Chief of the Polish Army Main Political Directorate Brig Gen Albin Zyto.

One of the delegates was the commander of the Pomeranian Military District, Div Gen Zbigniew Blechman.

### School of Political Action

The closing term for Pomeranian Military District party echelons has been a time of unusual difficulty. Exceptionally complicated political, social and economic conditions have required party members to use extraordinary prudence in their daily activity.

This has been a time of great tensions, struggle against counterrevolution and special effort to rally society around the realization of a program to build the national agreement so necessary to our people. This was also a turning point in the party's internal life and a time for outlining goals and ways of realizing them, as expressed in the documents and resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR.

This point was emphasized in the problem report read by the first secretary of the Pomeranian Military District PZPR Committee, Col Artur Fiedorowa, and in the report by the District Party Control Committee read by its representative, Col Stefan Sielicki. It was also pointed out that the main effort of party activity in the army and civilian communities will be directed at strengthening the cohesion of collectives and rallying the cadre and its families, principal service troops and civilian employees around the higher goals of defending socialist statehood.

The realization of these tasks demanded unusual effort from all troops of the district, especially party members. They were the motivating force for the socialist changes that were achieved at this time throughout Poland and in the provinces within the Pomeranian Military District. The basis of these accomplishments, the measure of which is continuing social and economic stabilization, was earnest and consistent realization of the resolutions of the PZPR Ninth Congress and subsequent plenary sessions of the PZPR Central Committee.

During this difficult and complicated period, party members in uniform showed great political maturity, ideological zeal and discipline. They were always where things were and are most difficult. Their attitudes and selfless service had a great influence upon the mood of the troops, army employees and army families. The attitude of party members also made it possible to execute the many complex tasks facing units of the district.

Within this context, one cannot forget the contribution made by members of army operational groups to the cause of streamlining the operation of elements of state and economic administration. This activity received public recognition and acquainted our comrades in uniform with the problems troubling civilian society in cities, rural areas and in the factories. It can be said that the performance of these tasks by units of the district and the operations groups was a good school of political action for party comrades, commanders and their subordinates.

#### Counting on Youth

Much of the report and discussion was devoted to the problems of combat readiness and improvement of the moral and political state of the district's units. Emphasis was placed on the fact that the complicated political and military situation and especially the qualitatively new menace of militaristic imperialist circles in the USA, the deployment in Europe of new nuclear missile systems and the arms escalation of the NATO states constitute a real danger to our nation and the states of the socialist community. This demands new and very difficult tasks from Polish troops guarding the western and northern borders of our nation. Intensified command work at all levels and the improvement of general and specialized skills of all district troops are needed.

These conditions mean that party organizations and party members in uniform must better fulfill their party and service duties than at any other time, especially their responsibility to promote socialist interpersonal relations based upon comradeship and friendship among soldiers. It is also their responsibility to improve their ability to make class assessments of events, to conduct political struggle, broaden their knowledge and, especially, to make creative use of it in their service.

Much party work has been devoted to activating young party members. They are the party's future and often given it its vitality and a broad perspective on the problems disturbing the soldiers of the Pomeranian Military District. It is thus very important to promote an attitude of commitment among the young



command cadre. This sense of commitment is marked by a high degree of professional and specialist preparation. The young cadre is ideally fulfilling its command and training responsibilities. What we need to do now is to give it greater opportunities to act within the party organization and various social bodies. During the past term, the district's party ranks were increased by a considerable number of young comrades. They took an active part in work within various social action cells in military units as well as civilian enterprises.

The party forum of the Pomeranian Military District was a place of extensive, varied discussion covering all of the problems connected with the realization of tasks facing the district's troops in the near future. The discussion pointed out unused reserves that could be activated to streamline party activity, aid further development of combat effectiveness and readiness as well as improve the outlook and morale of the troops.

Comrades participating in the discussion shared the views of their own sectors of service and party activity. They presented interesting opinions and recommendations and also made proposals for the improvement of party inter-organizational training, educational and economic affairs.

The characteristic feature of the party debate was the fact that, out of previous experience, the delegates chose that which was most valuable and could be used to structure future activities. The speakers especially concentrated on the principles of ideological training, which they closely associated with the quality of party and service tasks. Special emphasis was made of the need for continuing and constant improvement of combat readiness by finding new and more effective training methods, especially practice methods. Div Gen Zbigniew Blechman reviewed the most important tasks facing district troops this year.

The performance of service work should be accompanied by intense party activity. Ryszard [text illegible] discussed this and made recommendations based on previous experience of ideological training in his own unit. He stressed how important the party organization has been in promoting a scientific view of the world among the troops of his unit. Referring to the role of the party within the army, many speakers discussed the problems associated with the participation of young members in service and party work. They said that the youthful party members have not always given due consideration to energy, other points of view and the needs of youth. Ryszard Myszynski, Stanislaw Kurza and Ryszard Zielinski spoke about this problem.

Efficient and thrifty management was another topic of the discussions. There was much talk about the need to maintain combat gear in full operating order. This problem and others were addressed by Stanislaw Maczewski. During the discussion, it was emphasized that good management and thrift is not only demanded by the nation's economic situation but is also the moral and ethical responsibility of soldiers of the Pomeranian Military District.

The discussions confirmed the fact that good performances of duties should not blind our comrades to the importance of new tasks for the future or the



shortcomings of the work of the district's party organizations and echelons. It was said that the strength of the party lies within each of its members, his understanding of party tasks, his attitude from day to day and the energy he devotes to achieving the main goals of the PZPR.

Div Gen Jozef Uzycki, chief of the Polish Army General Staff and vice minister of national defense, spoke during the discussions.

He conveyed the soldierly greeting and good wishes of Minister of National Defense Gen of Arms Florian Siwicki. Speaking about the international situation, the chief of staff stressed the increasing military danger in the world, the prime agent of which is the United States and the NATO nations that it has subordinated to its will. The present military and political situation in the world is viewed by the administration in the USA as the preservation of its vital interests but is actually an extensive struggle against socialist ideology and the nations of the socialist community. Enormous forces and resources have been drawn into this struggle. Every day we see how our nation has become the target of political propaganda inspired by the powers on the other side of the Atlantic.

Their attempts to destabilize Poland were just a flash in the pan. This is because the party has solidly carried out the process of socialist renewal, restored its credibility with society, strengthened its alliances with fraternal nations and has also implemented economic reform.

In connection with this, Gen Uzycki presented the work to be done by soldiers of the Polish Army. He especially emphasized the need to increase efforts to improve the combat readiness of our units and, within this context, to maintain a high level of discipline. Discipline is the guarantee that all tasks facing our armed forces will be fulfilled and it is also a factor in the cohesion of the ranks. Discipline assures us that our troops will be able to defend us against the infiltration of hostile forces.

#### H. Bednarski's Speech

Henryk Bednarski gave delegates and the party organization expressions of thanks and respect on behalf of the district and the entire officer cadre and ranks for everything they did for the state and for society during the past term. The good, responsible attitude of the army was confirmed, especially during martial law, when Polish soldiers saved the nation from anarchy and destruction and showed by their deeds their support for the ideas and values of socialism.

"The PZPR reports-election campaign now drawing to a close," said the speaker, "has shown us that we took the right road. The party has achieved a proper rhythm of work and by its real accomplishments, given life to the slogan: 'The same party, but different.' One of our most important tasks now is to continue building up the strength of the party within the working class and to enlist in it the most valuable people we can find so that workers in the PZPR can speak up for themselves about their affairs and have their due direct influence upon the decisions that are made.

"Increasingly strained international relations," the Central Committee secretary said, "are making themselves felt in Poland's present situation. To oppose imperialism, our national interests require that the good of the nation be preserved, that our sovereign rights be defended and that the alliance with the Soviet Union and our fraternal socialist states be strengthened.

"In the 40-year history of People's Poland and the Polish People's Army," H. Bednarski stated, "the party has always had and still enjoys support from the worker-peasant army. The Polish People's Army has grown from the best wishes for the people and the desire to serve the people. It is a people's army and a socialist army. It is filled with a spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Your devotion to the causes of the socialist state was confirmed by the brotherhood of the Polish and Soviet soldier on the battlefields of World War II. Now your selfless service to People's Poland has brought forth measurable material results, above all, international peace and the safety of Polish families in the socialist community."

The delegates to the 18th Pomeranian Military District PZPR Reports-Elections Conference passed a resolution defining the activities of the district's party community for the new term. The resolution stressed the essential role that party members have in promoting the cohesion and combat readiness of the district and the ideologically committed attitudes of the officer cadre, troops and civilian employees. The need to intensify actions for strengthening troop discipline, model interpersonal relationships, the army's bond to society as well as fraternal cooperation with the allied armies of the Warsaw Pact was expressed. Attention was called to the need for promoting unambiguous moral and political views.

A new Pomeranian Military District PZPR Committee was chosen and Col Artur Fiedorow was re-elected first secretary.

A new District Party Control Commission was elected and Col Stefan Sielicki was named chairman.

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INFLUENCE OF PUNK CULTURE EXPLAINED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 8 Feb 84 p 3

[Article by Katarzyna Zaczekiewicz; material enclosed between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] In the West, when the first punk clubs and extravagances appeared, reporters threw themselves upon the aggression to photograph it from all sides. I recall a 1974 issue of PARIS MATCH with a series of photos and a short commentary spread over a half-column. Chains, churning of bodies on the roadway, knives and razors, cut-up faces, girls led on leashes by barechested, disheveled young men. The French journalist wrote that a wave of arrogance had arrived and illustrated his thesis with a photograph of a demolished discotheque. Then followed a long list of the more sophisticated punk ideas and...a period.

The English tabloid THE SUN treated the subject similarly--sensationally. Today, punker fists are knocking out windowpanes, tomorrow an IRA bomb will knock out those same panes and the following day, Prince Charles will quarrel with Her Majesty Elizabeth II. And life goes on.

In 1983, these same punkers join hands and in a brotherly clasping of hands create a chain of peace from one embassy to another.

/And what do we Poles do as we observe our boys doing up their heads with eggwhite? We rend our garments. We can tolerate everything, but to become so uncivilized! The punkers pet their darlings, happy that they finally have caught our eyes. For that was their intention: As Rotten Johnny writes: "I am glad that our society is so hardened. That is what gives meaning to our movement and revolt. Punkers provoke, tease and astonish...."/

Punk Is Naked

Journalistic voices are raised against the nihilism announced by the punkers. Journalists expose the punkers' intellectual emptiness and their disturbing, negative program. "Strip them of their jackets and their pendants, and punk

will stand naked. Just stammering mouths full of fine slogans" is how their philosophy is summed up. They despise everything but their loud, brutal music and praise anarchy, although frequently they do not even know the meaning of the word. The future is meaningless, and the present and past as well.

/"I am too young to die, too old to live" they repeat after their deceased idol Vicious from the Sex Pistols. At the same time, they see no inconsistency in wearing buttons that say "Punk will never die." Gathering up all their responses would provide a disturbing handful of unripe ideas, but why bother gathering them up?/

We already know who they are. They are straying lambs that no one wants to gather up, lambs that dress up in horns to pretend that they are contentious rams and to appear threatening in order to frighten the solid citizens.

Meditations on the subject: who is a real punker and who is a casual or seasonal one lead to the same kind of standard conclusion as discussions of real hippies, gophers or poppers. Only the original model was authentic. The Polish versions must remain better or worse copies of, or calques on the Western model owing to differing Polish life conditions. On the other hand, what is more interesting is the explanation of why our young people are attracted to a shocking lifestyle and to pretending they are something they are not.

#### Eyes Westward

With certain exceptions, Polish youth has nearly invariably accepted with uncritical delight all that comes from abroad.

From the West, and specifically from France, came the black turtleneck shirts and existential sadness of the late 1950's. Still earlier, purveyors of "made in USA" bikinis reigned over the secondhand clothing trade. After turtlenecks, Liverpool Beatles' plumage emerged to be treated like a plague by our schools. Next the hippies started making dangerous noises. Finally, the punkers and poppers arrived.

None of these movements gained the approval of society, or of the majority. That was in keeping with the premise or intention of the movements' elite, for whom acceptance would have meant the kiss of death or the end of the movements.

In the 29 January 1984 issue of RAZEM, Krzysztof Maslon maintains that the westward orientation of Polish teenagers stems from a desire to escape into a technicolor world, free of problems, a world whose realities are actually completely unknown to them. Polish teenagers, too, want to show that they are no worse than their Western counterparts.

I would throw in a supplementary element, adding to this diagnosis by saying that among Polish youth, as well as among their elders, there comes into play the complex of European isolation.

Once, at a Sigma gathering, a fellow with a punker hairdo told me that his appearance and way of acting were intended to demonstrate to the anonymous masses that here among us it can be a little like it is over there--that is, freedom of choice in hairstyles, trousers, socks, as well as the associated form of philosophy.

Indeed, we do have our painted people, and if people point fingers at them, it is a sign that the punkers have accomplished their aim.

As for the second item on the punker agenda--/"We are forcing people to change at least their way of thinking"/ (PROKOP), people cannot be won over by crudeness and dyed hair. Thus far toleration has never been taught by such means.

We ought to take the opportunity of determining whether Polish culture and tradition have in themselves trends that might be cultivated by dissenting groups. I maintain that there are such trends. Recently popular among college and high school students is one such trend based on the model of the wartime city partisans. Young people dress in outfits the color of faded leaves with high boots, preferably military ones and an indispensable backpack. A variant includes casual cloth and rubber hiking shoes and thick stockings in the pre-war scouting manner. Some adopt military cross decorations or anchor pins. This Polish fad is also disturbing. This version of a patriotic fad assumes the proportions of a profanation of the most sacred national traditions.

#### A Cry for Attention

Rebellion is a way of shouting out to others that one has the right to be different. It is good to be a Westerner when everyone here is surrounded by such material and spiritual poverty.

/"Beginning at zero, they ended up with two zeros. But were this not the case, this is still four walls, is it not?"/ (YOU).

/They are fed up with the acceptance of existing values created through the hard work of their elders. The generational struggle begins with spiting one's parents and this is done in equal measure by young women from "good" and "bad" homes, by young boys from villas and from crowded housing complexes. "My father wanted me to be submissive, to kiss his feet. I joined the punkers (...) to represent power to myself."/

Those are the words of a 20-year old boy who spent his childhood in constant fear of a harsh parental hand. Apparently he was unjustly punished, and therefore those threatening times have remained forever in his memory. They are his obsession and constitute his antiprogram.

It would not be false to assert that parental lack of interest in children and in the errors of educational institutions gave rise to the attraction for participation in the subculture. Examples taken from life confirm this.

Teenagers from 12 to 16 years of age congregated all summer in the stairwell of a big-city concrete high-rise standing among many other such buildings. The boys played cards, damaged the elevators and systematically unscrewed parts of the telephone booth. From time to time, depending on their nature, various occupants of the building had words with the boys, sometimes words to the wise, sometimes more vulgar words. The result: nothing at all. The boys' parents demonstrated an evident unconcern. When other adults corrected their children, the parents remained silent. Summer passed. It got cloudy and gray. In the fall, the boys started to transform their appearance. They cut their hair severely, nearly to baldness. And nothing happened. When their hair grew out a few weeks later, they started combing their hair straight up, and shortly the punk cockscomb became obligatory. The stairwell was deserted and the public telephone was permanently dismantled. The tenants of the building are awaiting spring's punk retaliation.

These boys' parents are not the sort that cannot make ends meet. They have cars and elegant furniture. They have seen to everything except the proper upbringing of their children.

I think that, by participating in these movements, the majority of teenage punkers or hippies want subconsciously to divert the attention of their elders from the values these elders hold most dear: the pursuit of money and professional advancement, the continual concern about what may show up for sale in the shops, and so forth.

Children cannot directly express their revulsion to those that support them, give them pocket money and a roof over their heads; hence, they attack their peers--the poppers, the greasers. Enthusiastically they listen to the off-color curses in the songs of British punk rock groups, for they themselves curse the source and the incentive for their own total negativism.

/The degree of aggressiveness of a subcultural group is in proportion to the moral disintegration of the environment from which it emerges. The peculiar style of punk behavior is a mirror image of weakened family and school ties./

Punkers are unable to think up some Polish mutation of the movement, for they seek to escape as far as possible from the gray realism of everyday life. And as long as it is not here at home, the escape can be to just about anywhere--London, Copenhagen, Frankfurt or New York.

Judging by the history of similar cultural phenomena, in a few years our punkers will maintain they cannot afford extravagant behavior. They will straighten out the part in their hair. The girls will put on high heels, and the boys will put on neckties, and they will all go off to work at eight. Perhaps, on Sundays, in the year 2000, they will take peaceful walks in the Lazienki Gardens or the Krakow Planty Gardens, just as their peers will walk in Central or Hyde Park.

/So, why make such a fuss over perfectly natural things?/